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THE
OMANS IN BRITAIN

BERTRAM C.A. WINDLE

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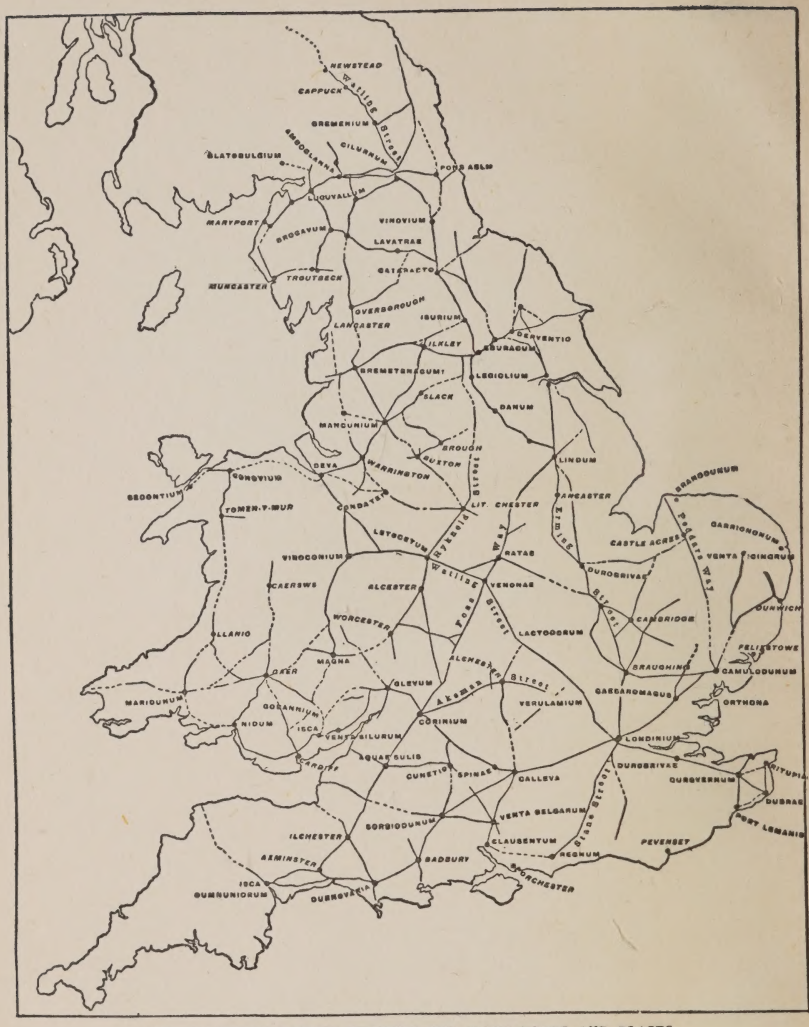

MAP OF ROMAN BRITAIN SHOWING THE CHIEF ROADS AND PLACES

[*Frontispiece*

THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN

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SIR ROBERT FALCONER, K.C.M.G., LL.D.

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

AND TO THE FACULTY OF THAT UNIVERSITY

UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES AND AT WHOSE INVITATION THESE LECTURES WERE DELIVERED

PREFACE

THE lectures on which this book is founded were delivered in the University of Toronto to a public audience, and were intended primarily to present a picture of the kind of life led in Britain during the period of the Roman Occupation, and at the same time to give an account of the relics of that period still to be seen in cities, in the country, or in museums. The lecturer from this point of view could at least claim a familiarity, gained during long walks and bicycle expeditions, with most of the roads and towns and stations and other major objects and during many hours of study in museums with the minor objects therein exhibited. But such an account required some historical and archæological setting, and for that the lecturer had to rely on reading, having no claim to be considered a classical archæologist or historian. As these pages are intended for general readers and not for scholars, it has not been thought well to give references for all the statements, but a list of the more important books consulted is added to enable readers, desirous of doing so, to continue their studies. The list does not include a large number of other works such as the Victoria County Histories and Proceedings of various societies and summaries in classical journals. Nor does it include the numerous communications by the late Professor Haverfield, which are the most valuable sources of information up to the time of his death. These are hidden in a most bewildering number of places, and the writer, whilst he has done his best to track them down, is conscious of the fact that owing to some of them being out of print and not contained in any library in this

district, he has had to omit a reading of some of these. His thanks are due to Mr. Stuart Miller of the University of Glasgow for some valuable information as to Bibliography and other hints, and to Mrs. Ward for kind permission to use illustrations from her late husband's most useful works mentioned in the list of books consulted.

B. C. A. W.

TORONTO, *April*, 1923

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THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN

CHAPTER I

BRITAIN BEFORE THE ROMAN OCCUPATION

WHEN the Romans made their first descent upon the shores of Britain under the generalship of Julius Cæsar they did not find, nor of course did they in any way expect to find, a land uninhabited by human beings. Years of trade with the island had given them some acquaintance with the inhabitants of the country, for inhabitants there had been for very many centuries. As to the earlier races, what we know has been learnt from the patient labours of archæologists, who by excavation have laid bare some skeletal remains and very many implements from which have been inferred the few facts with which we are acquainted. Over the people of the Old Stone Age who inhabited the country while it was still continuous dry ground, with the Continent on the one hand and Ireland on the other, we need not linger, for there is every reason to believe that they had completely disappeared from the island before the next immigrants took possession of it. These later comers of the New Stone Age must have come in rude dug-out boats, or on rafts fashioned from the trunks of trees, for by their time Britain had become separated from the neighbouring island and from the Continent, its physical geography being approximately what it now is. The coast-line, which is always undergoing slight alterations—sometimes the land and sometimes the sea gaining an advantage—was not just as it is now. But,

on the whole, the mountain ranges, the rivers, and the other chief features of the country were then what they are now, and not as they were in the time of the earlier inhabitants. The second band of immigrants never deserted the country, and we can be sure that there are traces of their blood in the veins of some part at least of the existing population. But it is to still later bands of immigrants that we must direct our attention, since their descendants, mixed, no doubt, in race to some extent with the aborigines whom they had found in possession when they entered the island, were the peoples with whom the Romans had to contend for the sovereignty of Britain. This much must be said about the New Stone people : they had a great skill in a form of rude Cyclopean architecture, since it was to their labours that we owe such remarkable megalithic edifices as Stonehenge and Avebury, at least so we now think. They were also the constructors of immense earthen fortresses, like that at Maiden Castle between Weymouth and Dorchester (Dorset), which afford evidence as to their numbers and perseverance since they were unprovided with any but the most primitive kind of tools. They constructed a rude but useful kind of pottery of a purely hand-made character, for the potter's wheel had yet to make its appearance in Britain. They could spin and weave ; they grew a poor kind of corn as well as flax ; they kept cattle and pigs and had a domesticated dog. The mammoth, the cave-bear, the reindeer, all the other strange wild beasts which the men of the Old Stone Age had encountered, had gone, but there were still wolves, wild boars and cats, beavers and deer—all, but the last, now extinct in the country—as well as herds of the great white cattle which remain with us, but only in the shape of a few very carefully tended herds in close captivity. In addition, there were, of course, the various wild animals with which we are familiar to-day.

The lives of these people must have been much modified by the introduction of bronze, the first metal to be worked for industrial purposes, though gold had probably been

wrought into ornaments at an earlier date. A Copper Age of short duration there may have been in Britain, as there was in Ireland, and other parts of the world, but the discovery that ten per cent. of tin added to the copper made a harder and better metal for the manufacture of swords and tools early reached Britain, and bronze became the substance always employed until in time it was ousted by iron. Who brought the knowledge of metal into the country? Typical members of the Alpine family about 1800 B.C., says Rice Holmes; but it is a question which has been much debated and is still unsettled. We first find bronze associated with those rounded mounds, the burial places of the dead, which occur in so many parts of the island and are known as "Round Barrows." In England the remains of the dead and the bronze tools are associated with a special form of early pottery called "beakers," and the "beaker people," as they have been named, were round-skulled, unlike the New Stone people, who had skulls much longer than they were broad. It would look as if the beaker people had brought the knowledge with them. Yet in Ireland the beaker is almost unknown, though there are quantities of bronze implements of all kinds. We need not delay over these interesting questions, but may pass to the consideration of the people known as the Kelts, around whom has raged, and still rages, a vigorous controversy into which it is quite unnecessary to enter here. It will be sufficient to sketch an outline history of this race so far as it is possible to come to any conclusions about it, and in accordance with the view most in vogue to day. The Kelts seem at a time somewhere about the eighth century B.C. to have been the chief people of Central Europe, and to have occupied the high ground whence rise the Danube, the Rhone, the Rhine, and the Elbe. The important eighth century (B.C.) cemetery of Hallstadt in Austria shows us the remains of a people acquainted with iron, but still relying very largely upon bronze for the manufacture of implements of all kinds.

The people who interred their dead in this cemetery were Kelts, and so were those of the even more important sixth century (B.C.) cemetery at La Téne in Switzerland, where we find that most characteristic ornament, the spiral, which spread from there across the Continent to Ireland and became the leading *motif* of what is called the Late Keltic Period. (See Fig. 1.) We may regard these cemeteries as indications of the limits of the Kelts at the dates in question, and they continued their wanderings, reaching the valley of the Po in the fifth century. Still later they entered Spain, which they subdued, leaving in that country a Keltiberian race;

FIG. 1.—SPIRAL ORNAMENT AT NEWGRANGE, CO. MEATH
(Scale $\frac{1}{8}$ linear)

and from thence they took possession of what afterwards came to be known as Gaul. Into Italy proper they entered in 400 B.C., and in 390 they sacked and burned Rome. About a century later they entered the Balkans and founded Galatia. St. Paul's "foolish Galatians" were of this race, and, according to St. Jerome, there were there three tribes, with characteristically Keltic names, which retained a native Keltic tongue in the fourth century A.D. Let us note for future reference that their country seems to have been the centre of the worship of Cybele, and pass on. From our point of view the important fact is that, moving along

the metal trade routes, they reached Britain, and of course subsequently, though that does not concern us here, Ireland. In what manner they came and at what dates has been, and indeed still is, matter of much controversy over which it would be useless to spend time in such a work as this. Let us again content ourselves with obtaining a general idea of the main conclusions of scholars like the late Sir John Rhŷs. He thought that the first flight of these immigrants, known as Goidels, came to Britain in the sixth century B.C., and were followed by the second, or Brythonic, in the second. Others have disputed these dates, and the controversy, however interesting, need not trouble us since it is unquestioned that there were numerous representatives of both hordes in the island when the Romans reached it. Neither must we delay to discuss the vexed questions of Aryan races and Aryan tongues, but may again be content to learn that, on any kind of theory, both hordes would be included under the racial title and both spoke dialects of the Aryan group. There was, however, a substantial difference between the two according to Rhŷs's well-known generalization, which, however, is disputed by some.

Where the former used a "K" or "Q" the latter employed a "P," and hence the names alternatively used for the two hordes of "Q Kelts" and "P Kelts." Let us take two examples. "Ceann" is a head in the Goidelic form, and we find it in such a place-name as Kenmare. In Brythonic it would be "Pen," and that we get in Penmaenmawr, the great stone head. Again "Mac" or "maq," with its genitive "maqi" found on the Ogham stones, is a son: Mac Neile is the son of Nial. "Map" is a son in Brythonic, and so in Welsh Map John is the son of John. The "M" has disappeared in modern days, and the name has become Apjohn, just as in other names the "Ma" has gone, leaving only "P," so that we have (Ma) P Rhys or Price, (Ma) P Robert or Probert, (Ma) P Hugh or Pugh, and so on with Powell, Prichard, and others. We may find linguistic traces of both these swarms of invaders in the place-names

of Britain and of Ireland, in the former often modified by passing through a Latin filter or by Saxon or Norman accretions. For example, to each tribe The Water was the stream nearest to their place of habitation, and so they spoke of it. "Afon" is the Welsh for water or river, and the various Avons in England are the waters of the tribes resident on their banks. The word becomes "abhn," pronounced "oun" in Irish, and it may even have been so pronounced by some of the Keltic tribes in Britain if the first syllable in the place Oundle is the river term; and Leland, in his "Itinerary" of the latter part of the sixteenth century, writes of what is now known as the Nen as the Avon—that is, the river. The slurred diphthong in the Irish word is often corrupted into Owen—thus Owen-a-boy is really Abhn a Bue, i.e. the Yellow River. Or it even becomes Anna, a term which some years ago was quite frequently prefixed to the name of the Liffey, which runs through Dublin. So much for the linguistic characters.

As to social characters, the first invasion seems to have been one mainly of people in a pastoral stage living largely on their flocks and no doubt on the milk which their cattle produced. The second horde of invaders had reached the agricultural stage, and the systematic cultivation of the land began with them. They were probably the makers of the curious rows of banks, one above the other, called "lynchets," which are found on hills crowned often with the earthen fortresses constructed by these peoples. The purpose of these seems to have been terrace cultivation.

There was a kind of Brythonic backwash which passed over to the Continent and colonized what we still call Brittany, a district which gives evidence of the stream from which it was drawn, not only in its tongue and the character of its people, but in place-names like Cornuailles and Domnonie, which are linked to Cornwall and Dumnonia, the ancient name of the south-western district of Britain.

These invasions were not at an end even before that of the Romans, for another horde of people known as Belgæ

came into the country, as Professor Oman thinks, perhaps about the year 150 B.C. There is some doubt as to who these were, but the general opinion to-day is that, though they spoke a Keltic dialect, they were more Germanic than the peoples who had preceded them. The Belgæ occupied some of the southern portions of Britain, and even, according to Professor McNeile, reached as far as the coast of Leinster.

Thus, to sum up, at the time when the Romans came in contact with Britain, besides the remnants of the Neolithic folk no doubt existing in considerable numbers in the western part of the island, and especially in what we call Wales, there were Belgæ, mainly if not exclusively in the south, Brythons in many parts, but especially in the south and east, and Goidels more or less in the west and north. In Scotland and in Ireland many of the last-named peoples, with Neoliths, seem to have formed the population. Of these Keltic tribes this may be said with certainty, as regards the Continent and, indeed, as regards the British Isles, that they never showed themselves capable of creating a great empire or even a stable state. They gathered themselves into loose tribal communities—small independent communities separated from one another—of a type which may roughly be designated as republican on the Continent, but presided over by kings on the islands. Kings one may call them for want of a better word, but they had but a small modicum of power and were not infrequently deposed. Moreover, the position was an elective one, and in some cases the successor, who was by no means necessarily the next of kin to the existing ruler, was elected during the lifetime of the latter, which cannot always have been quite a comfortable arrangement for the monarch of the day. No doubt their civilization was making constant progress prior to the Roman occupation, which turned it into a new and in most ways better direction; not, however, in art, for the Kelts had a real and a beautiful art of their own, marked, amongst other things, by a knowledge of enamelling which they brought with them into the country. (See

Fig. 2.) The Romans were, speaking generally, an inartistic people, and what art they had was mostly derived from Greece after its conquest. Except in isolated places, such as the lake village at Meere, near Glastonbury, where the characteristic Keltic art lingered on for a period which seems to have extended over much of the Roman occupation, the earlier art went down under the deadening influence of the invader. Touches of it we seem to find from time to time, but for the most part it ceased to exist. This is perhaps the only thing to be regretted in connexion with the coming of the Romans.

When Cæsar made his first attempt upon the island it possessed two very different groups of inhabitants, as Tacitus, to whom we are indebted for so much of what we know about these times and places, tells us: "There are different physical types, and inferences are drawn from them; for the red hair and stalwart limbs of the dwellers in Caledonia attest their German origin, the swarthy and generally curly locks of the Silurians, as also their position opposite to Spain, win credit for the belief that in old times Iberians crossed over and settled there." We need not trouble ourselves with the views expressed by Tacitus as to the origins of these peoples; what is obvious is that he recognized two types—a red and a black—and we have them both exemplified in Scott's novels, for Roderick Dhu was the dark (*dubh*, i.e. black) and Rob Roy (*ruadh*, i.e. red) the other. There we may leave it without taking up the discussion as to the relations between these and the different folk whom we have seen were the inhabitants of the island at the time with which we are concerned. Of the red race we are also told that the men were clean shaven, except for long moustaches, and that they had fair hair and skins. Comparatively speaking, they were a tall race, for Strabo says that they were six inches taller than the tallest Romans, who were, it must be remembered, rather a stockish folk. Their powerful frames were clad in bright-coloured tunics and cloaks of wool, which were stained with native dyes,

FIG. 2.—DETAIL OF ORNAMENT ON LATE KELTIC BRONZE SHIELD FROM THE THAMES AT BATTERSEA; NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM
(The Bosses are adorned with red enamel)

no doubt derived, as in Ireland in quite recent times, from lichens and a number of native plants. Sometimes crimson was the colour selected, sometimes purple, obtained from shell-fish like the celebrated Tyrian dye, for heaps of the shells of the mollusc employed have been found in both our islands. But very often chequered patterns were used, which were the origin of what we now know as tartans. Breeches these people wore, for they are spoken of as a *gens bracata* by one writer, and Valerius Maximus, who wrote about A.D. 29, speaks of the Druids as "long trousered philosophers." From this it would appear that those who, desiring to return to the garb of their early ancestors, have acquired the kilt habit, have a further stage to reach, and can imagine what their forbears looked like by studying those Highland regiments which wear the "trews" and not the kilt. In addition to these coverings they wore twisted necklets and armlets, or torques, and bracelets of gold, some of which metal was found in Britain, though far more in Ireland, which seems to have been the El Dorado of the Western world. They had splendid shields, ornamented, as may be seen from the celebrated specimen in the British Museum, with the characteristic Keltic designs, which originally came to La Téne or get their name from that place, and with the enamels which the Kelts knew how to employ. Swords they had, too, and helmets like bronze jockey caps. Last of all it may be said that they had earned, no doubt justly, the reputation of being magnificent horsemen.

We may now turn to some of the accounts given by early visitors to the country and learn from them what were the chief points which struck them as strangers in a strange land. The earliest, and in every way the most important, of all these visitors of whom we know anything was one Pytheas, who has been claimed, and without undue exaggeration, as the earliest Columbus known to history. His works themselves have most unfortunately perished, but something we know of them from quotations in the writings

of later geographers, and much more we might have known but for their very obvious jealousy of their earlier colleague.

Pytheas will be best understood if we speak of him as the scientific expert sent out with an exploring party by a body of merchants at Massilia, now Marseilles—the kind of people spoken of in later years in England as "Merchant Venturers." This expedition was dispatched, it seems, in the latter half of the fourth century B.C., with the object of finding openings for trade. These Merchant Venturers, like others at other points in the world's history, have earned the gratitude of posterity by their discoveries, as well, we may hope, as having added to their own incomes. Pytheas sailed through what are now called the Straits of Gibraltar and made his way up the western coast of Europe until he reached *Corbilo*, the Gallic port to which the Cornish tin was shipped. Its position is not quite certain, but very likely it was on some part of the estuary of the Loire. Thence his expedition passed by *Uxisantum* (Ushant) and *Belerium* (Land's End), and a landing was made in Cornwall. Here interest naturally centred around the native tin, of such vast importance in the manufacture of bronze, yet, speaking generally, of such uncommon occurrence in Europe. There was some in Spain and elsewhere, but Cornwall seems to have been the chief early centre from which supplies of this metal were obtained. When it had been mined, the metal was cast into ingots shaped like the knuckle-bones of sheep, with which children in all ages have played games and called, after them, "astragaloi." In that shape they were shipped to the Continent, and, whatever may have been the cause for its selection, it is interesting to note that ingots of bronze were cast in exactly the same form in Knossus in Crete some two thousand years B.C. We are told that these ingots of tin were taken to an island called *Ictis*, or *Mictis*, and from thence shipped to *Corbilo*, a place already mentioned in this account.

Let us try to imagine that these shipments of tin took

place in boats made of hides stretched over a framework of strips of wood. Anyone who has stood on the summit of the promontory of Dunmore, one of the most westerly points of Kerry, and thus of Europe, and looked down upon the rough waters of the Blasquet Sound with the boats coming over from the Great Blasquet, some three miles distant, can picture what the earlier boats were like, for those which he has seen are similar but that tarred canvas replaces dressed hides. These boats of to-day are very seaworthy, more so, it is said, than any but large and decked vessels of wood, and shipwreck is said to be quite unknown, though the inhabitants dare the passage in what would seem to most very stormy weather.

There has been much discussion, into which no attempt will be made here to enter, as to which was the island of *Ictis*, or *Mictis*. Some have thought that it was Thanet—at the period in question really an island—but that solution is more than doubtful. Others are in favour of the Isle of Wight, which was later known as *Vectis*. Others, again, consider that St. Michael's Mount near Marazion and Penzance has the best claim, and certainly it was near to the tin mines and not further from *Corbilo* than the Isle of Wight.

To return to Pytheas. He pursued his journeyings so as to sail round the British Isles and saw Thule—the " Ultima Thule " of Virgil's Georgics—whatever that place may have been : very likely, in the case of Pytheas, the Hebrides. He remarks, and no doubt with good reason, on the gloomy climate of Britain, its rain and its fogs, and notes that the inhabitants had to thrash out their grain in closed barns, instead of on the open floors, which sufficed in the sunny land from which he had come. The people made an intoxicating drink, to comfort themselves with during their fogs and their rains, which was composed of wheat and honey—no doubt what was afterwards known as mead, an " Aryan " beverage of wide extension, perhaps one of the oldest of drinks, since the name, which appears to be

associated with the Sanskrit *madhu* (which means honey or sweet), occurs with very slight changes in Greek and other tongues.

From Posidonius, a later writer, if, indeed, he is not quoting without acknowledgment from Pytheas, we learn that they had another intoxicant, which he calls *curmi*, evidently a sort of beer, for *cuirm* is the word for that beverage in Irish, and *cwrw* in Welsh. Whatever it was, it cannot have been a hop ale, for hops were not at that time known in Britain, where they were not cultivated until the sixteenth century though imported earlier than that. There are old legends of a Keltic "heather beer," and a really fine tale of the preservation of the secret by its last possessor has come down to us; but all that we can say of the fluid of which Posidonius speaks is what he tells us of it, that "it produces pain in the head and injury to the nerves." Diodorus Siculus (perhaps also quoting from Pytheas) says that the people were civilized and courteous, and no doubt generous, also, with the "wine of the country," whose effects the mariners had the opportunity of studying on themselves. Of course he is here alluding to the miners of *Belerium*, softened, no doubt, by contact with the outer world. The inhabitants were an agricultural people, and lived, as the author just quoted says, "in mean dwellings, made for the most part of reed and wood"; and he further tells us that "their harvests consisted in cutting off the ears of corn and storing them in underground pits, from wh ch they fetched each day those which had been longest in store for food." Cattle they had belonging to the extinct breed known from its lengthy countenance as *Bos Longifrons*. It was a small breed, probably because the inhabitants took too much of the milk for themselves and left too little for the calves. They had advanced so far along the path of civilization as to have a coinage of their own, the design of which, as in so many other cases, was founded upon that which adorned the beautiful stater of Philip of Macedon—a chariot and horses, and on the

obverse a Victory emblem—objects which, by constant and unintelligent copying, became a mere jumble of dots and circles whose meaning can only be made out when various stages of the degradation are compared with one another and with the common original. The coinage of these early races are of the utmost importance to us in tracing out their history, for not only do they show us who were the kings, since their images or names are often placed on the pieces of money, but in addition they show where the sovereignty, such as it was, was actually exercised. Thus, for example, we learn that there was a time when the south-eastern part of Britain at least was annexed to Belgic Gaul, and neither *Camulodunum* nor *Verulamium*, as in later times, but Soissons or Arras (as we now call them) was the capital and the seat of the supreme court.

Much of what we know of the religion of the Keltic tribes is to be learnt from the pages of *Cæsar*, and it must be confessed that the information leaves much to be desired. Perhaps it may be well, first of all, to deal with the Druids, at one time an obsession to early archæologists, but in fact a body of people of whom but little is known. We do not know whether they were the special religious body of the Keltic tribes, or whether these had taken them over from the Neoliths when they invaded their country. It has often happened that a conquering race has paid respect to the indigenous gods of the conquered country, no doubt with the idea that they are attached to the land and should at least be propitiated, and this may have been the case with the Druids. We do not know this, but we do know that a centre of the Druidical organization was in Gaul, and that in Britain one of their most important places was the Island of Anglesey, now singularly unprovided with trees but then densely forested, and known as Mona. Even the Romans spoke highly of their learning, and if, as we are told, a period of thirty years' training was required before admission to the priesthood took place, most of the little knowledge then existent in the world must have been

assimilated by them They taught the immortality of the soul and its transmigrations before, we must assume, it reached the pleasant place of final abidement, which is in such contrast with the gloomy realms of the old Roman idea. Pliny is the authority for the devotion to the mistletoe attributed to the devotees of this religion, and for the account of the cutting of this parasite as it grew on an oak (an unusual habitat, by the way) by the Druid priest clad in white and provided with a golden sickle for the purpose. Besides the Druids, we find the various members of a Pantheon readily translatable by the Romans into deities with whom they were familiar. Lugh was the equivalent of Phœbus Apollo, and we find his name in *Luguvallium*, the Roman name for Carlisle; and on the Continent, in Lyons, once *Lugdunum* and Leiden, originally of the same Roman name and still containing a faint echo of it in its modern title.

Lyons was a very important place in the Roman period, for it was outside this city that the central altar for the Three Gauls was erected, and it boasted of the patronage of an important deity. There was also Mannanan mac Leir the sea god, whose haunt was the Isle of Man, still named after him in abbreviated form. Toutates was looked upon as another name for Mars, being the god of war; "Marti Toutati" (to Mars Toutates) appears on an altar. Nudd, or Nuadh, the king and leader of the divine race when they arrived in Ireland, is commemorated at Maynooth (Magh Nuadh, i.e. the plain of Nuadh), and had a temple at Lydney on the Severn, where an altar ascribed to him was found.

If we could sail over the Britain of those days in an airship we should find a coast-line somewhat different from that of the present day. The sites of places like Wisbech and Holbeach, now from five to ten miles inland, and, like Pevensey, Winchelsea, and Lymne, now a mile or more from the shore, would then have been seen at the water's edge. Other places now covered by the sea would have been dry

land, such as the spots in Norfolk and Suffolk which once were Roman forts and now are submerged. But the things which would really catch the attention would be the absence of large towns and the prevalence of immense woodlands, covering, indeed, almost the whole face of the country. Some of these lingered for centuries, like the Forest of Arden, which disappeared in Elizabethan times under the demands for fuel for smelting purposes. Remains of some of the others are with us, such as Dean, Sherwood, Wyre, and the New Forest. These woods consisted largely of oak, ash, holly, and yew, all indigenous trees, and were infested by wild beasts. Special note must be made of the beavers, whose name appears in places like Beverley, Bevere an island in the Severn not far from Worcester, and Nant Frangcon in North Wales. The dams built by these creatures, when taken in conjunction with the shoals caused by the trunks of great fallen trees in the rivers, must have caused the streams to spread far and wide and produced an immense amount of marshy land and of fens. Of these the greatest were the fens *par excellence* in Lincolnshire and the neighbourhood around Ely. This was once an island only attainable by boat, as Bede tells us in his account of the search for a stone coffin for the body of St. Ethelthryth. (See Chap. XII.) But there were also great swamps all along the course of the Thames in its lower portions. Sedgemoor recalls the time when the waters of the Bristol Channel came up to Glastonbury, the island valley of Avilion, and in the midst of them rose the lake village of Meere. Over these waters, according to a tradition, one Joseph (afterwards supposed to be him of Arimathea) with twelve companions sailed in a boat to land at Glastonbury, and there erect the first Christian church in England. Romney Marsh and the marshes around the Humber must not be omitted from mention, nor must it be forgotten that these morasses throughout the island, as well as the woods, formed obstacles of the first importance in the strategics of this early period. Further, they determined the positions

of various tribes and delimited them. For this reason it will be necessary to form some idea of their positions, and those of the tribes which lived amongst them. At the

FIG. 3

eastern extremity of the island, occupying what is now Kent (deriving its name from its early inhabitants), were the *Cantii*. Westward of them was the great Forest of Anderida—the Andreadaswald of the later Saxons, which

extended for some one hundred and twenty miles between the North and South Downs and fell a victim to the necessity for fuel for the iron smelting furnaces of Sussex. It practically cut off the *Regni*, who lived around Chichester (the ancient *Regnum*), from communication with the rest of the country. Still further west was the New Forest, still a great and beautiful woodland, and beyond it were the *Durotriges*, with the *Dumnonii* at the other extremity of the island—the occupants at this time of what is now Devon and Cornwall. Selwood Forest lay to the east of Sedgemoor, and north-west of it were the *Dobuni*. East of them were Belgic tribes occupying parts of Somerset, Wilts, and Hants. The *Atrebates*, a tribe which had its origin and for a time its head-quarters where Artois still bears its altered name, inhabited Berks and Surrey, lying between the forests which covered large parts of Oxfordshire and those around Speen.

North of the Severn was, and is, though shorn of its greatness, partly again by iron smelting, the Forest of Dean, and the district to the north-west of this and south of the mountainous central parts of Wales was occupied by the *Silures*, a tribe of which we have already heard as being swarthy and curly headed. We need not enter into their ethnology—a disputed matter—but note that they were first-class fighting men and pass on. North of the mountainous country just alluded to were the dense forests which covered Denbighshire so closely that it was said, many years later than the time with which we are dealing, that a squirrel could pass from tree to tree without touching the ground from one end of the county to the other. The Silurians pretty certainly were not Brythons, as the late Sir John Rhŷs thought the *Ordovices* were, who also occupied this part of the island. He considered that their name could be found in the place still called Din Orwic.

The forests of Wyre in Worcestershire and Herefordshire, and of Arden largely covering Warwickshire, lay to the east of the Ordovices, and in and around them were two thinly

scattered tribes—the *Cornavii* and the *Coritavi*. Further to the south and east were the *Catuvellauni*, whose original home may have been in the neighbourhood of Châlons, but who were planted in parts of Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, and Oxfordshire in our island.

The East Anglian forests and the fens cut off East Anglia, which was occupied in its northern part by a famous race, the *Iceni*, horse-breeders and warriors, considered by some to be of the Belgic horde. There is a Welsh word *egin* meaning sharp, and some have thought that the Iceni got their tribal name from their weapon, as the Saxons are believed, though some dispute it, to have obtained theirs from the " seax " or short knife which they carried. North of all the people so far described were Sherwood Forest, afterwards the haunt of Robin Hood of tradition ; Charnwood Forest, mostly now bare rocky land ; the Peak and Elmet near where Leeds now is. These, with the fens along the Humber, cut off a large and important tribe, the *Brigantes*, which lay north of them. They covered all the country now Yorkshire and the adjacent districts, and were one of the most important, if not the most important, tribe in Britain. Very warlike and distinguished in battle by their shields coloured blue, as a Roman poet tells us, they gave much trouble to the Romans. In the southern part of their area (perhaps a sort of sub-tribe) were a people known as *Parisii*, who bordered on the Humber fens and whose name still remains in the city from which they originally sprung, now known as Paris. It will be observed that the physical geography of the country determined the distribution of the tribes, and so potent a factor is it that at a later date when the Saxon kingdoms were formed it was on almost identical lines that they were arranged.

CHAPTER II

HOW THE ROMANS TOOK POSSESSION OF BRITAIN

THOUGH the chief object of this book is to show how things went in Britain during the time that the Romans held sway there, as a preliminary measure some brief account must be attempted of the reasons why they came there in the first instance and of the manner in which the conquest was effected. Britain was a country which seems to have done a good deal in the way of exports though but little in the direction of imports. Writers of the period speak under the latter heading of glass, ivory trinkets, and jacinths, all of which things cannot have constituted any very great amount of trade in a year; whereas, in addition to tin and lead, there were exported gold, silver, iron, corn, cattle, hides, slaves, and dogs. Of the latter there were at least two breeds—a small hound like that used for otters, long-bodied, with good scent and an excellent tackler, and a larger animal after the type of a boarhound, which is represented on a brooch found at Silchester and on a pavement at Cirencester. Nothing in this seems to account for the desire to take possession of the island, for the Romans could get all the things which they wanted from it and exact import duties at their own side, as they eventually did, though it seems in lieu of the tribute payable after the days of Cæsar and his invasion. When one considers the cost of policing the island, as Mommsen points out, financial gain can hardly have been their motive. Soldiers for their legions they could obtain no doubt, and that may have been some incentive. But the real reason

was the quest for a scientific frontier. "No one," said Cromwell, "goes so far as he who does not know where he is going," and it may safely be said that when the Romans, in their desire to ensure the inviolability of Italy, took possession of Spain and Gaul, they in no way reckoned on what must follow. For the Keltic tribes in the northern parts of Gaul were very closely associated with their kindred in the southern parts of Britain, and, notably in the case of the Veneti, had been assisted by them to resist the Roman arms. The people just mentioned were expert sailors, and the Romans, who never loved sea-fighting, yet were compelled to meet in naval warfare their adversaries who were inhabitants of the country around what we now know as Vannes; and, thanks to the genius of Cæsar, eventually emerged as conquerors. But the fact that their opponents received much help from the *Dumnonii* of Cornwall and Devon no doubt made the Romans reflect that, if it had been necessary to conquer Gaul in order to make Italy safe, it might be necessary also to annex Britain in order to provide against a source of danger to Gaul. So in search of a scientific frontier Britain was invaded; yet in the long run no such frontier ever was secured, since, unfortunately, so it would seem, for the empire, the wise and far-reaching policy of Agricola, whereby the entire of Scotland as well as Ireland would have been subdued, was never carried out.

Of Cæsar's campaigns but little will be said. In 55 B.C. he made a descent on Britain, attempting to land at the narrow creek which then was the harbour at Dover; but fearing a landing exposed to the Britons on the high banks of the creek, he made his descent at some other spot, perhaps Deal. Deprived of the aid of his cavalry, which had been prevented from landing by a storm, the campaign was indecisive, and Cæsar returned to Gaul preceded by rumours, which made their way to Rome, that he had suffered defeat. It was obvious that next year must show a different result, and Cæsar spent the winter in constructing sufficient boats driven by sweeps, and so independent of the wind, to carry

over the increased forces which he contemplated taking with him. These amounted to five legions, i.e. about 30,000 men, with 2,000 horse. On the 21st of July in 54 B.C. he landed without opposition, apparently between Deal and Walmer. That night he took a fortress on a river about twelve miles inland, which is commonly thought to have been near Canterbury on the Stour. The next day, having heard of a disaster to his ships, he moved his forces back to his naval base and spent ten days there in carrying out repairs. This delay enabled the Keltic tribes to prepare for resistance, and on his way to the Thames Cæsar was constantly harassed by chariots, and on his second day's march had to engage in quite a serious conflict. Finally he reached the river, which was unsuccessfully held against him, and made his crossing. Perhaps he came up the trackway afterwards known as Watling Street and crossed the ford between Lambeth and Westminster. It seems odd to think of such a ford nowadays, but later still the river was fordable at low tide where London Bridge is. Or he may have reached the Pilgrim Way and crossed the river at Brentford, the name of which place implies a river passage. It does not much matter, for cross the river he did, and made for the stronghold of Caswallon (the *Cassivellaunos* of the histories), chieftain of the Catuvellauni. An *oppidum* Cæsar calls it, which is to say one of the earthen fortresses of which such numbers are to be seen in most parts of England. Almost certainly this was at the place outside the modern St. Albans, where the Roman city of *Verulamium* afterwards stood. Nothing later than the Early Keltic Period has been found there, and one of the most important objects perhaps is a bronze helmet shaped like a jockey cap. Thus we may conjecture that the Catuvellauni came to Britain about 200 B.C. Cæsar stormed and took this fortress, and shortly afterwards Caswallon, finding himself deserted by his allies, made peace, and the war was over. Cæsar remained at *Verulamium* for some time. It was then in a sense the capital town of that part

of Britain and possessed a mint. He returned to Gaul, leaving the country nominally at least tributary, but perhaps in reality little subject to other than what may be called peaceful penetration. That, however, must have been considerable, at least in the southern part of the island, and what was learnt of it made Britain and its customs quite fashionable in Rome. The young bloods loved to drive about in copies of British chariots, whilst the ladies dyed their heads red because it was "so British, you know." Meantime deaths and successions had been taking place.

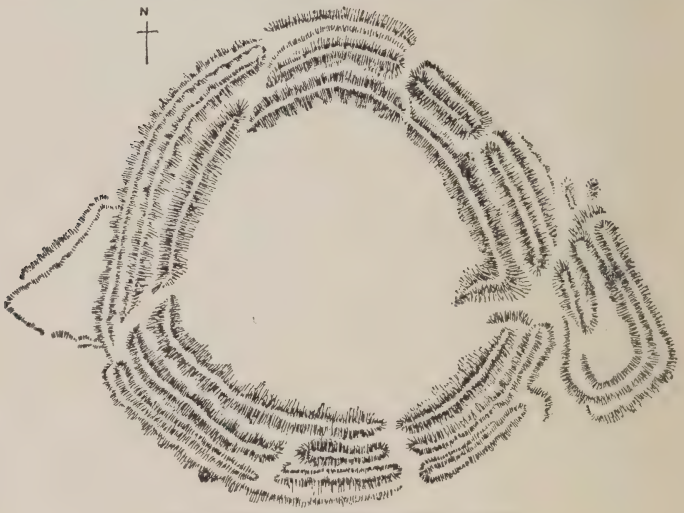

FIG. 4.—PLAN OF YARNBURY CASTLE, WILTS
(An earthern fortress)

Caswallon died in 47 B.C., and his son, Tasciovanus, succeeded him. Tasciovanus conquered the Trinobantes and made his son Cunobelinus king of the conquered territory with his capital at *Camulodunum*, now Colchester. The name Cunobelinus seems to have been well known at the period, and no doubt contained the favourite Keltic stem *cu*, a hound, as Cuchulain, for example, does. There is an inscribed stone on the downs near Penzance, called the Men Scryffen, on which appear the words "Rialobran Cvnoval fil," where we meet with the same name, and from the monarch mentioned Shakespeare derived his Cymbeline.

Tasciovanus died in A.D. 5, and Cunobelinus succeeding him, elected to remain at *Camulodunum*, whereupon *Verulamium* sank to the second place. "*Brittanorum rex*" Suetonius calls him, and no doubt he was the nearest approach to such a thing possible in a congeries of loosely associated Keltic tribes. At his death he left three sons, Adminius, Caratacos, and Togodumnos. We may pause for a moment over the name of the second of these, usually given in the books as Caractacus, in which form the Latin authors used it. However it may have been spelt, it is the same name as that of Carthage, the patron of the diocese of Lismore, and Caradoc and Cradock, and in fact is the root term of all the McCarthy families. Cunobelinus died in A.D. 43, and in that year Claudius, the emperor, perhaps using Adminius' expulsion by his brothers as an excuse, sent Aulius Plautius Silvanus with 40,000 men to conquer Britain. His forces included the Legio Secunda, an "*Augustan*" or Royal Legion, the Twentieth (*Valeria Victrix*) the Ninth (*Hispana*) and the Fourteenth, and in addition he had some Gallic auxiliaries. The Second Legion was commanded by Vespasian, afterwards emperor, and his son Titus, another later emperor, was amongst the officers.

There was the usual hesitation on the part of the Romans to cross the channel or the "ocean" as they called it, a terror to those accustomed to the tideless Mediterranean, but eventually the crossing was made and a landing effected at some unidentified point. The Roman general fought Caratacos and Togodumnos perhaps at the Medway and, having defeated them, came upon some "key-position," perhaps on the Thames, and there was held up. He sent to Claudius for reinforcements, and the emperor came in person with additional troops, including the elephant corps —the "tanks" of the period. Within sixteen days he had completed the subjugation of the southern tribes, set up some sort of capital at *Camulodunum*, or at least given it a charter as a Colonia, and left the country.

Meantime, while Claudius took his triumph at Rome, Aulius Plautius was left to complete the conquest of the island. He divided his forces into three divisions. The left wing consisting of the Second Legion, under the command of Vespasian, easily reduced the southern counties, no doubt much Romanized in advance. The centre, consisting of the Fourteenth and Twentieth Legions, made for the Midlands and the west. The Twentieth worked its way in a north-westerly direction and, having for some time made a stay at *Viroconion* (Wroxeter), as finally established in the time of Suetonius Paulinus at *Deva* (Chester). The remainder of the central force marched more directly westward, and eventually established itself at *Castra Legionum*, otherwise called *Isca Silurum*, i.e. the Water of the Silures, (Caerleon-on-Usk). The right wing, consisting of the Ninth Legion, went nearly due north via *Ratæ* (Leicester) and *Lindum* (Lincoln), and eventually, in the time of Petilius Cerialis, to *Eburacum* (York). The method adopted in all these advances was to construct small detached forts, each capable of containing a moderate force of soldiers, and placed at strategic points. Dotted about the country and not too far from one another, these were in most cases sufficient to keep the Keltic tribes quiet. But though Claudius had enjoyed his triumph, the Roman task was by no means accomplished, and there was yet plenty of fighting to be done. Let us first turn to Caratacos and his doings. He, " by many an indecisive and many a successful battle, had raised himself far above all the other generals of Britain," so Tacitus, to whom we have now to look for most of our information, tells us. He shifted the war into the region of the Ordovices and Silures—in other words, he took it into the hilly and difficult country which lies along the borders of south Shropshire and Wales and anyone who has walked along the Stiper Stones, for example, or penetrated into the Clun Valley, will easily understand how well adapted that country is for the operations of guerilla warfare. Tacitus tells us that Caratacos, having

to encounter his foe, " selected a position in which advance and retreat would alike be difficult for our men and comparatively easy for his own, and then on some lofty hills, wherever they could be approached by a gentle slope, he piled up stones to serve as a rampart. A river, too, of varying depth was in his front." There has been much discussion as to where this was. Traditionally it was on the slopes of Caer Caradoc opposite Church Stretton in south Shropshire, where ancient earthworks along the face of the hill testify to an encampment if not a battle. But there is no river of varying or other depth in front of this position ; and, after examining all the likely spots in the county (there are at least two other Caer Caradocs), my impression is that the actual scene of the conflict is unidentifiable. In any case, the Romans forming the *testudo*, i.e. covering their heads with a kind of roof of shields, which moved with them, rushed the position, threw down the ramparts, and gained the day. Caratacos fled to what is now Yorkshire, and placed himself under the protection of Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, that very warlike tribe which inhabited the parts north of Humber. She handed him over to Ostorius Scapula, the Roman general in command. Caratacos graced a Roman triumph and no more is heard of him. But the Romans were not done with the persistent Silures, who carried on their warfare until, as Tacitus again tells us, Ostorius Scapula died, " worn out by the burden of his anxieties."

The campaigns of Gaius Suetonius Paulinus next claim our attention. This general in A.D. 61 proceeded to North Wales to subdue the tribesmen there and particularly the Druids, who were giving much trouble. He and his men crossed the Menai Straits by swimming, Tacitus tells us, and probably by Frisians or Dutchmen, practised swimmers and accustomed to fording. If the Straits then were as they now are, it was a notable operation. In Mona, or Anglesey, amongst the dense woods with which that now almost treeless island was then covered, were the most

sacred resorts of the Druids—haunts of secret and horribly cruel rites, according to the Roman writers. Suetonius not only conquered but seems to have almost exterminated the Druids, after which he returned to what was to become *Deva*, and there started the great legionary fortress which was to watch the wild Keltic tribes of Wales from the north, as *Castra Legionum* did from the south. He was soon to be called away, for a dangerous uprising was on foot in the south. Prasutagos, King of the Iceni, a warlike tribe inhabiting Norfolk, had for wife one Boudicca (called in the books, and even on her memorial in London, Boadicea) who was, so we are told by the historian Dion Cassius, " mighty in stature, terrible in aspect ; her voice was harsh and her countenance savage ; around her neck was a large golden collar or torque, across her bosom a particoloured vest was tightly drawn, while over this she wore a thick mantle fastened with a brooch or clasp. Her hair, which was yellow, fell over all down to her girdle." In a word, one of the red Kelts with tartan vest and the golden neck and arm ornaments of which a number have been found. Prasutagos died. He had done his best to secure his wife in her possessions by making the emperor his heir, but she was, perhaps amongst other difficulties, enmeshed in debt to one of the most remarkable characters of that or, indeed, any other day, namely, Seneca. Seneca "*saepe noster*," says St. Jerome ; who was said to have conversed with St. Paul ; who " probably travelled as far towards the City of God as anyone born in heathendom ever did," as a writer puts it ; who " enforces the duty of universal kindness and helpfulness by the example of God who is bounteous and merciful even to the evil doers," as Sir Samuel Dill writes : this same Seneca was a hard man where money was concerned. If we are to believe Dion, he had lent money to the Britons and suddenly, as no doubt he was legally entitled to do, had called it in. This is said to have been one of the causes of Boudicca's rising ; another that she was beaten with rods and her daughters outraged.

However all this may be, she took a royal revenge for any insults which may have been offered to her. First of all she swept down upon *Camulodunum*, of which mention has already been made. Often spoken of as the capital of South Britain it was a Colonia where time-expired soldiers were settled on the land, " as a defence in case of rebellion and to give an example of a law-abiding life," as Tacitus tells us. Catus Decimus, the Procurator, who gets the credit for the brutalities and injustices which caused Boudicca to revolt, was appealed to for help and seems to have sent some two hundred soldiers and these imperfectly armed. The statue of victory is said to have fallen flat to the ground with its back to the enemy at the advent of Boudicca and her men. She was completely successful, and every one in and about the city was put to the sword and the place itself, including the altar to the Divine Claudius and the temple which contained it, were destroyed by fire. Turning from this destruction she encountered the Ninth or Spanish Legion marching from their northern quarters. This legion she almost wiped out, and was then able to turn her attention in another direction. Suetonius Paulinus remained to face the storm. He was in Mona and by forced marches made his way to *Londinium*, the merchants of which flourishing business city begged him to remain and protect them. Suetonius saw that, after the destruction of the Ninth Legion, this would be a suicidal policy, and, no doubt with much reluctance, determined to leave the town to its fate. That fate was the same as had befallen *Camulodunum* and was in the next place to befall *Verulamium*, for in each case the city was destroyed and its inhabitants put to death. The number of those who perished in these massacres is said to have amounted to 70,000, but perhaps it is safer not to put too much trust in any of the figures mentioned in connexion with this campaign. What seems clear is that a Roman legion and three flourishing cities were almost wiped out of existence. By this time it might fairly be said that Boudicca " possessed the initiative," a matter

we used often to read about during the late war. She could choose the place for the decisive battle with Suetonius, but this she did not do, permitting him to make his own choice, which was a matter of the utmost importance to him. He had somewhere about 10,000 troops, disciplined and in every way first-class fighting men. But Boudicca had, so the Romans said, 230,000—tough fighters enough no doubt, though of course without the iron discipline of their opponents. Suetonius drew up his forces in a defile between two of those dense forests which, as we have learnt, were such formidable strategic obstacles, and there he awaited the battle. It certainly would appear that all that Boudicca had to do was to hold him up there while she sent part of her overwhelming superior forces to take him in the rear or at least prevent his retreat in that direction. Doubtless reinforcements might be expected from South Wales, but even then her forces were enormously superior in numbers and apparently had had but little trouble in dealing with the Spanish Legion. Instead of this she committed the mistake of attacking Suetonius in his chosen position, and, worse still, was so confident of victory that she drew up all her baggage wagons immediately in her rear. Suetonius no doubt felt that everything depended on this throw and relied on the iron discipline of his men, drawn up in crescent form between the two lines of forest. They were ordered to allow the enemy to come to point blank range before discharging their *pila*, the heavy throwing spears with nine inch heads which the Roman infantry carried. Moreover, these were all to be directed towards the centre of the advancing hosts. So ordered and so done. The flight of spears broke a gap in the line. Immediately the Roman forces formed the wedge—a favourite tactic—and threw the Keltic hordes into confusion. Driving them amongst the baggage train any attempt to re-form was impossible, and a great slaughter took place. The Roman report is that 80,000 Britons were slain, whilst they themselves lost only 400 killed and the same number wounded.

One may take leave to doubt the accuracy of these figures, but there is no doubt that the victory was complete. Boudicca took poison, and the Camp-Prefect then in charge of the Second Legion, which had never been near the fight, committed suicide apparently on account of his disobedience to his superior's orders. Where did this great fight take place? As in many other instances we are in a state of uncertainty. It must have been somewhere near London, and it may have been at or near King's Cross, once called Battle Bridge.

In the year 77 or 78 there arrived in Britain one of the greatest Romans who ever visited her shores, Gnæus Julius Agricola, a man fortunate in his son-in-law, for Tacitus has left us an account of him in which we learn what manner of man he was and what were his exploits. The Silures had worn out Ostorius Scapula and were still unsubdued, and the same was true of the Ordovices. Frontinus, sent out by Vespasian, dealt successfully with the former and Agricola with the latter, and thus, so far as it ever was effected, the subjugation of Wales was completed. No doubt it is to Agricola that we owe that block-house system whereby that part of the island was policed from the northern and southern legionary cities. The Brigantes of what is now Yorkshire, a fierce and warlike tribe, next engaged the attention of Agricola, and under the leadership of Petilius Cerialis they too, for a time at least, were reduced to quiet. Then Agricola was in a position to turn to the northern part of the island. It was then occupied by people named Caledonians, but also known, though perhaps later, as Picts or Cruithni. Their ethnological position is a matter of considerable dispute, but it is probable that they were a mixed race, consisting of descendants of the Neolithic inhabitants and Kelts, perhaps of both invasions. Tacitus, who after all must have either seen or at least heard much about them, takes a more favourable view of their civilization than other Roman writers, who tell us that they lived "in utter savagery, without agriculture or any dwellings

but tents, and having their wives in common living in marshes on roots and such-like food, naked, tattooed, armed with spears with a knob fastened to them with a chain to frighten enemies." Claudian also says that they tattooed their cheeks, like the Maoris and other savages of later days, and Herodian tells us that they would not wear clothes lest their pictures should be hidden, so we must suppose that their bodies were entirely covered—again like some modern savages. These people occupied the whole of Scotland north of the Clyde, together with Ulster and the adjacent part of eastern Ireland, and they spoke a tongue of which we know but little, but which has generally been thought to be non-Keltic and indeed non-Aryan in the sense already taken of that word. Cormac, King and Bishop of Cashel, who compiled a glossary of his time, alludes to it as a dark speech, and mentions but two words "fern" and "ond" of this "Iarn" tongue, of neither of which he gives the meaning. Sir John Rhŷs thought that these people were the original "non-Aryan" inhabitants of the land and the adherents of the druidical religion, which was absorbed by the after-coming Kelts. Agricola commenced his campaigns against the Caledonians in A.D. 80 and continued them for five summers. It is not possible to trace all his movements, but we can see him on at least one occasion advancing from York by that ancient road which but recently was called (very inaccurately) Watling Street, but which is better named Dere Street, or Leeming Lane, in parts of its course. It crosses the Tyne in a fertile and pleasant valley, and here Agricola bridged the river and set up the station of *Corstorpitum*, or Corbridge, shortly to be described. Across the line of what was afterwards to be that of the Wall of Hadrian the road passes to another fertile valley—that of the Tweed—where the camp at Newstead was constructed not far from Melrose. Before making his final move, Agricola constructed a line of forts—not a wall; that was to be for later days—from *Clota* to *Bodotria*, i.e. from Clyde to Forth, where the

distance was no more than thirty-five or thirty-six miles. His line of forts was very like that erected by Domitian, then emperor, a year or two later along the Romano-German frontier. Small forts on the line and larger in rear, this seems to have been the design of that period. In his sixth summer Agricola moved northwards from his line of forts. It would seem that he partly worked along the coast in consort with his fleet, partly made his way through the Pass of Stirling along the line of the present Caledonian Railway. There is a fort at Ardoch, near Braco, and it seems to have been intended for a permanent rather than a mere temporary occupation during the progress of a campaign and the same may be said of the important military work at Inchtuthill at the junction of the rivers Tay and Isla, a place of considerable strategic importance. Somewhere near this it seems probable is the spot where Agricola met his adversaries in a great though, as it turned out, most indecisive battle. The spot was at a certain " Mons Graupius," which was changed by some careless copyist into " Grampius "—hence the Grampian Hills associated in my youth with one Norval, probably unknown to the rising generation.

The leader of the natives was a certain Galgacos, " a mere stage figure, who comes forward to make a speech and is never heard of before or afterwards," as a writer well puts it. " Galgach " is said to mean a sword, and perhaps the leader's name was thus derived, or it may have been a mere eponym. Tacitus details for us a long and eloquent speech uttered before the battle by this worthy which must be pure Tacitus, since that writer cannot very well have heard it, nor, if he had, is it likely that he would have understood a word of it? This must not be forgotten about the speech, that it contains two of the most familiarly known " tags " in the passages *omne ignotum pro magnifico* and *solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant,* though probably many who quote them are unaware that these phrases were placed by Tacitus in the mouth of a painted savage. The battle was won by

the Romans and was not indecisive in that way, for the victors claim that, whilst they lost but 340 men, their opponents lost 10,000. It was indecisive because it was never followed up, for, though he sent his fleet round the island, Tacitus was recalled at once, perhaps because of jealousy but no doubt also because his term of office had already extended beyond the normal limit. Agricola desired to subdue the entire of Caledonia and then to cross to Ireland and accomplish the same task there. He was an incurable optimist, as he supposed that 10,000 men would have been enough to carry out the second part of his programme and subsequently police the island. He was never to make the attempt, nor indeed was any other Roman leader, to the great misfortune of the island in question, not to say of the empire, and indeed we may add to the later history of Europe. In Scotland we cannot feel sure that Inchtuthill was Agricola's most northerly point. There are military earthworks, thought to be Roman but still unexplored and unexplained west and north of that place, such as Comrie in Strathearn and near Forfar in Strathmore, and even one or two beyond Aberdeen. To the civil part of Agricola's policy a few words must be devoted. What he wanted to do was to Romanize the settled portion of Britain, and to that he turned his attention in A.D. 79–80, though, no doubt, at other times he was not unmindful of it. He set up schools for instruction in the Latin speech and civilization, like that which the Emperor Augustus had set up at *Augustodunum*, and he encouraged the Britons by every means in his power to erect in their cities great buildings such as temples and forums.

Though Roman Britain in its later days was a fairly rich province and had competent architects, as we find in the time of Constantine, she never came into possession of buildings of a public character on the scale of those to be seen to-day in southern France and at Trier, for example, though many were of considerable size and stateliness as

we shall see when the individual instances come under consideration.

Tacitus saw very well what underlay this civil policy and comments acidly upon it: "All this the Britons called Civilization, when it was but part of their servitude."

From Agricola and his recall by Domitian and subsequent retirement into comparative obscurity we may pass to a period twenty years later, when Trajan, a warrior in grain, was emperor. During the first seventeen years of the second century his doings fill the pages of history. First of all, there was his great Dacian campaign, inevitable perhaps, decisive and brilliant no doubt, but desperately costly in men, so much so that, in order to secure sufficient troops, the garrisons of Britain and other provinces were reduced to a dangerous level. Then came his second and disastrous war in the east, followed by his death and the rising of the Brigantes and other wild tribes of the north of England. The result of that rising was the complete wiping out of the unfortunate Ninth Legion (*Hispana*), which never afterwards was reconstituted and ceases from A.D. 115 to be a part of the Roman army. Hadrian succeeded in 117, and some three years later came to Britain to settle matters in the north, bringing with him the Sixth Legion (*Victrix*) to take the place in *Eburacum* of the unfortunate Ninth.

But he was to content himself with a much less extensive tract of country than had been left by Agricola in possession of the Roman forces. Forty miles south even of Newstead he drew his line from Tyne to Solway, and there built the great wall to be described in another chapter. There was once some doubt as to whether Hadrian was responsible for more than a turf wall at this point, but excavation shows that the work as we have it was his, though added to and perhaps altered slightly at later dates.

Hadrian did another memorable thing in connexion with Britain: for the first time he put Britannia with her trident on the coinage, and there she remained for 100 years, disappearing then until the time of Charles II, who,

it must be admitted without any very compelling reason, replaced the lady in the position which she has ever since occupied. In A.D. 142 Lollius Urbicus, as Legate of Antoninus Pius, constructed the northern of the two walls, yet to be described, often thence called the Antonine Wall, or the Wall of Pius, starting at the Forth and working across to the Clyde, the line selected by Agricola in previous days for his series of forts

Thus the policy of Hadrian as to the position of the *Limes* or *Finis Imperii* was replaced by that of Agricola, but with a difference, for the latter had relied upon a line of forts whereas now there was drawn a continuous line of fortifications—earthen it is true and not of stone, but a substantial line of defence all the same, which lies in a valley stretching from sea to sea and, it has to be admitted, always in danger of being outflanked. *Corstorpitum* was re-established as a base and the forts at Newstead and Bar Hill were reconstructed and others arranged on and in rear of the wall. But all this does not in any way seem to show that there was any idea of giving up the southern wall of Hadrian. Haverfield thinks that the real idea of Pius was not to occupy the land between the walls so much as to hold " a remote strategic point, a Chitral or Gilgit," and to close the door through which the unconquered Caledonians rushed down to harry the wall or its neighbours of the immediate north. The idea no doubt was excellent, but to carry it out required a force of men not usually at the disposal of the Roman commander-in-chief in Britain, and the need of large forces was accentuated by the constant fear of risings in the region of the Brigantes, that is to say, from the wall of Hadrian well into Derbyshire—in fact, the hilly parts of the northern half of England proper. About A.D. 155 the peoples of this district rose, and either the insurrection still continued or it was renewed in 162, by which time the Wall of Pius was lost, Newstead Fort destroyed, and many Roman legionaries slain. A temporary victory seems to have led to the restoration of the forts

and the establishment of peace. But it was not to last, and fifteen years later, just as Commodus succeeded to the throne, a still more violent revolt broke out against which a special commander was despatched to Britain. There was a victory, or at least something sufficiently resembling one to enable Commodus to assume the title of Britannicus, but from 180 (the victory was in 184) there were no more Roman soldiers in full occupation north of the wall, and even immediately north of that fortification the Picts or Caledonians were by no means the "friendlies" depicted by Kipling in his story of the Roman wall. The last episode to which notice need be drawn in this connexion is some thirty years on, and relates to the reign of Septimius Severus, who, though old and in ill-health, came, like his predecessor Hadrian, in person, with the intention of settling the question of the northern frontier. He established himself at *Eburacum* with his infamous wife Julia Domna and his equally vile pair of sons Geta and Caracalla. Of his history, more in connexion with that of the city in question. Here it need only be said that for two years he carried on vigorous campaigns against the Caledonians and died before commencing a third. And what did these effect? That he suffered "unspeakable things," the historian of the day related, and he seems certainly to have lost 50,000 soldiers in a form of guerilla warfare to which the country readily lent itself, without ever having the opportunity of fighting a pitched battle. He is said to have marched to the northernmost extremity of the island and taken much territory from the inhabitants, but of all this there is but little proof. None of the forts north of the wall show any trace of this emperor, nor is there evidence elsewhere, save perhaps near Edinburgh and in spots in the counties of Fife, Kinross, and Kincardine, and that is doubtful evidence. Haverfield, who gives these facts, says that it might be surmised that Severus sailed round to the Firth of Forth, marched his forces thence across Kinross, and, following the east coast northwards, made some of

those northern entrenchments alluded to in a previous part of this chapter. Severus repaired the southern wall, and some will have it that he rebuilt in stone what Hadrian had left in turf. But this is quite contrary to the facts to hand to-day, and the latter must be held to be the builder, the former only the repairer, of that great line of fortification. It was the limit of the empire, yet for years there was a hint that Rome might put forth her hand and grasp further territory, for along Dere Street there were still two points occupied by Roman soldiery—*Habitancum* (Risingham) and *Bremenium* (High Rochester), and as the former has even rendered up a very rare and a late object in the shape of a tombstone with a Christian inscription on it, the occupation must have lasted for some considerable time. But the threat or promise was never carried out, and for all real purposes the wall remains from this time the boundary of the empire. On account of its intrinsic interest and of its special importance in connexion with the history of the empire, considerable attention has here been paid to this episode of the walls, and they themselves will be more fully described in a later chapter.

Meantime we may turn to events in the more southern part of the province, and first of all to a story of great and dramatic interest—the history of the bold buccaneer Carausius (A.D. 245–293). The place from which he came is still under dispute. He is said to have been born in Menapia, and that has generally been taken to mean the district of that name, including the islands off Germany in the North Sea, so that we find him described as a Batavian. However, Ptolemy, the geographer, places another Menapia in Hibernia where Wexford now is, and Sir John Rhŷs thought that he came from there and that his name was really Cu-roi—"the hound of the plain"—and thus belonged to the great group of hound-names of which Cuchulain is a better known example. If this be so, he was a Goidel and one of the Deisi who invented, or perhaps it is safer to say owned, the secret—if secret it was—of

the Ogham script. At Penmachno in Wales there is an inscription which reads "*Carausius hic iacet in hoc congeries*" [*sic*] "*lapidum.*" This inscription is of too late a date to attach to the man we are dealing with, but it is evidence that the name was in use in that part of the country at an early period. Opinion to-day seems to lean to the view that Carausius was born in Gaul, and this much may be said, that his exploits have more of a Keltic than of a Teutonic touch about them.

At any rate he attained to the important position of *Comes Litoris Saxonici*, in other words Lord High Admiral of Britain, and in due course proclaimed himself Emperor of Britain, and, being accepted by that country or at least endured in that position, was eventually accepted also by the central authority, unwilling and perhaps unable to dislodge him, and ruled for seven years in company with his two imperial colleagues Diocletian and Maximian, and, moreover, ruled with conspicuous success. During his spacious days Britannia really ruled the waves, and for the first time in history her fleets entered the Mediterranean. His pride in his ships was great, and they constantly appear on his profuse coinage, many examples of which have been found at *Rutupiæ* (Richborough), where he probably harboured his fleet. A hoard of copper coins, 500 in number, found in so remote a spot as Llandudno, was fifty per cent. of his coinage. Here perhaps may be interpolated the fact that when the foundations for the London County Council offices were being excavated there was found part of a ship, which may have belonged to his fleet as it contained coins of his and of his successor Allectus. About two-thirds of the boat appear to have been found forty feet in length and sixteen in beam. Of Carausius, Arnold remarks that he "ruled Britain well, its commerce flourished beyond all former precedent, and, for the first time in its history, the island had learnt to regard itself as the mistress of the seas." But this state of affairs was not to last long, Carausius was murdered by his chief officer Allectus, who

usurped his position but did not long survive to enjoy it, for the Romans were determined to avenge this act of treason and sent over a special officer, by whom Allectus was eventually put to death, some think at *Calleva*, the modern Silchester. The special officer sent over was none other than Flavius Valerius Constantius, known from his pallid complexion as "Chlorus," afterwards emperor and the father of the much better known Constantine the Great. According to the old legend, Constantius—it must be supposed on this visit to Britain—had wedded a British maiden named Helen, said to be the daughter of one King Coel of *Camulodunum* (hence the name Colchester), none other than the "old King Cole" of nursery fame. From this union sprang Constantine, who was born at *Eburacum*, being the only Roman emperor to see the light on British soil. We must part, it appears, with this as with other delightful legends, though with a pang. Flavia Helena was, says St. Ambrose, an innkeeper in that part of the world which we now know as Servia, and Constantine, her illegitimate son by Constantius, was born in A.D. 274 at Naissus in Upper Moesia. This Helen, who was repudiated by Constantius (if ever his wife) when he married, from motives of policy, Flavia Maximiana Theodora, step-daughter of Maximian, in 289, was the St. Helen of whom we all have heard and to whom was attributed the discovery of the cross on which our Saviour perished. From her supposed British birth she later became a favourite British saint, and many churches were erected under her ascription. In this connexion it is interesting to note that recent excavations near one of these churches, St. Helen's at Bishopgate Street in London, seem to have revealed traces of Roman buildings beneath a Saxon convent dedicated to this saint. Constantius became emperor in company with Galerius and set forth on an expedition to deal once more with those troublesome peoples who dwelt north of the wall. Constantine joined him, after a desperately hurried rush across Europe, and accompanied him on his campaign,

FIG 5.—BRONZE HELMET OF KELTIC SOLDIER FROM ST. ALBANS, COLCHESTER MUSEUM
(The flat projection was to protect the neck)

which was of a victorious character. Then came the death of Constantius at *Eburacum*, followed by the proclamation of his son as emperor by the soldiery. Constantine referred the matter to Galerius, though one cannot doubt what were his real intentions whatever the reigning emperor might decide. He so far coincided with the choice of the soldiers as to constitute Constantine Cæsar, though not as yet Augustus. In this capacity his first task was to rebuild the civilization of Gaul, which was in a decadent condition ; and nothing better shows the position to which Britain had been brought by Carausius than the fact that Constantine brought with him to aid him in his task both British architects and artificers.

A word must be said about the persecution of the Christians by order of Diocletian about the year A.D. 303, in which, according to the exuberant Kelt Gildas, over 17,000 persons perished in Britain. Amongst these, according to his account and perhaps in fact, may have been St. Alban, always regarded as the protomartyr of Britain, of whom more in connexion with the city of *Verulamium*.

Of the next 100 years nothing will be said here, for enough has been written to give an idea of how the Romans got hold of the country. The year 407 is usually given as that in which the legions were finally withdrawn. Legions had been withdrawn before and had returned or been replaced by others, but this time, though perhaps it was not then suspected, the withdrawal was to be final, and the Roman chapter in the history of the island was closed.

CHAPTER III

HOW THE ROMANS HELD BRITAIN

THE Romans took Britain by the sword and they held it by the sword, but that weapon was always kept in the background except when it was necessary that it should be drawn. In parts of conquered lands where the population was peaceful the inhabitants probably never saw a soldier, save when a draft passed by on its march to some distant station. "Thus," says a writer on the subject, "eighty or a hundred thousand soldiers guarded the Rhine, but the interior of Gaul, the whole area almost that is now France, was content with twelve hundred men. Thus when danger grew on the Middle Danube, large Roman armies held the bank from Regensburg to Belgrade, but the inlanders in Croatia and Bosnia seldom saw a soldier. Thus, thirty or forty thousand men garrisoned Northern Britain and the Welsh hills, while the rest of the land was empty of troops." We have now to consider the manner in which this continuous occupation was carried out, the instrument employed, and the details of organization.

And first let us consider for a moment the map of Britain and start from Chester. Draw a line from that city through Derby to Lincoln, and another through Shrewsbury to Newport in Monmouthshire. To the north and west is hilly, difficult country, the rest is lowland and easy to cover : with one exception—the south-western peninsula ; and, to dispose of that at once, the Romans, perhaps deterred by the dangers of Dartmoor, never can be said to have really penetrated further than Exeter in spite of the Cornish tin

which one might have expected to prove a bait to them. But, whether because of the Spanish supplies or of some other reason, the Cornish tin mines appear to have been little if at all worked during the Roman occupation. For the rest of the country, the south-eastern portion was very early and very easily brought into subjection (no doubt a great part of it was already much Romanized), but the remainder yielded slowly, reluctantly—in parts with continual threat or actual accomplishment of insurrection, in parts not at all. The system of military reduction of these parts pursued by the Romans was first of all to run strategic roads—many of them, as we have yet to see, following the old-established trackways of the land—into the recesses of the country which they were endeavouring to bring under their sway. Along these roads they planted forts, larger or smaller, and garrisoned them with moderate-sized bodies of men. Then by degrees and as the country grew quiet, the soldiers were withdrawn from these points and pushed to further stations, whilst the abandoned towns became centres of civil life. Such was the case at Wroxeter when the legionary city of Chester was constituted, and a similar state of affairs befell in turn Leicester and Lincoln after York became the military centre for the northern part of the province.

Some sketch must now be attempted of the army, the machine with which this reduction was carried out, and it is the more necessary since many of the objects to be dealt with in the following pages would be unintelligible without some knowledge of the men by whom they were made or used or to whom they refer.[1]

We must start with the legion, since that was the great military unit. A legion consisted of about six thousand men, heavy infantry, picked troops, all Roman citizens in

[1] The numbers and other facts mentioned in this chapter varied from time to time as military organization was changed. A full summary in detail will be found in Professor Stuart Jones' "Companion to Roman History," to which the reader may be referred for a mass of facts of great value on points connected with Roman life.

the broad sense of the word. Each legion was divided into ten cohorts, the first of these consisting of about one thousand men, the others each five hundred strong. Each cohort contained a *vexillatio* one-tenth of its strength, consisting of the picked men of that particular cohort. Vexillations from one legion might at times serve with another. In the fight with Boudicca this was the case, but no doubt that was a time of unusual stress. But we read of vexillations belonging to legions on service in Germany being with troops which were garrisoning Britain. It must be borne in mind that, after the revolt of Civilis on the Rhine (A.D. 69–70), until after the days of Hadrian, the natives of a subjugated country were never recruited for service in their own land. Soldiers were obtained from Britain at least as early as A.D. 85, but the eighth cohort of Britons was then serving in Pannonia, many miles from the native land of those who constituted it. Besides the main body of infantry of which the legion consisted there was usually attached to it some hundred and twenty horse soldiers, the *equites legionis*. They may be said to have had a kind of artillery corps in the men who handled the catapults and other engines used to cast stones at an enemy fortress or at the enemy themselves. Every legionary was a sapper so that there was no special corps of engineers. In addition to these legions there were bodies of auxiliaries largely employed in garrison work, who were not necessarily Roman citizens but "allies." These were formed into cohorts of infantry, sometimes one thousand, sometimes five hundred strong, or in other cases they were cavalry. In fact, the mounted arm of the Roman army was largely constituted of auxiliaries. These were arranged in *alæ*, each *ala* consisting of ten *turmæ*, or squadrons, of thirty horse apiece. With such foes as the Romans had to meet in Britain it is obvious that cavalry would be in considerable request, and one of the favourite *motifs* of the series of military tombstones is that of the horse soldier bestriding his prostrate British foe (see Fig. 60). On one of these, to

take an example, where the terminology just given is employed, we learn of a certain Flavinus *alæ Perianæ*, standard bearer of the *turma* or squadron of Candidus, who died at the age of twenty-five, having served seven years, and who was buried at *Corstorpitum*, the base town of the Roman wall.

Each legion was under the command of a *Legatus Legionis* under whom were six *Tribuni militum* and the *Praefectus castrorum* or quartermaster; and there were other officers of whom the centurion is much the most interesting to us, for we hear as much of him in Roman Britain as we do in the New Testament. He was a non-commissioned officer, raised almost invariably from the ranks and the salt of the army. When he was "made" he was sent away to some distant station, other than that where he had been serving, and went through various stages of training. Then he was settled in some legion, so that each of these bodies contained in their centurions, some sixty in number, a kind of microcosm of the empire. On retirement each of them received a *tabula honestæ missionis*, or good conduct discharge, and was generally given a grant of land in some Roman dependency by way of a pension. The symbol of his office was the *vitis*, or vine staff, a sort of swagger-cane, always to be seen in his hand on the various tombstones to be met with in Britain where also the centurion's mark, a > laid on its side, is also often inscribed. They were a far-flung body, and not the least striking of Roman monuments is that of the centurion and his wife in the wild country near Brecon, which reminds one of the monument of Jan Chinn in Kipling's tale. One of his subordinate officers was the *optio*, who also carried an official staff of somewhat greater length than that of the centurion. There was also a standard-bearer, who was not entrusted with the kind of flag which at one time accompanied the British regiment into action, but with a pole surmounted by an eagle and bearing the badge of the legion and any honorary titles—like the names of battles on British flags—which might have

been granted to it. Each legionary wore a leather tunic, over which was a *lorica*, or chain—or scale—mail coat, crossed by a leather baldrick to carry the sword. Each also bore the heavy throwing spear, or *pilum*, with an iron head nine inches in length. It was with these that the breach in the Keltic ranks was made in the battle with Boudicca.

Each legion had its number, its name, and its badge, and we may now consider those which were brought over for the subjugation of Britain or used at times for its policing. These were :

(1) The Second Legion (*Augusta*), a royal legion, with the second titles of *Pia, Fidelis* and Capricorn for its badge, recruited from the tribes along the Rhine. After the conquest it made its way westward and settled down in *Glevum* (Gloucester), where it remained for some time until conditions became such as to permit of a further move westwards to *Castra Legionum* or *Isca Silurum* (Caerleon-on-Usk), in which place it remained watching Wales from the south, as Chester did from the north, until near the end of the occupation, when for a time it was stationed at *Rutupiæ* (Richborough), perhaps the last place in Britain to be garrisoned by Roman legionaries.

(2) The Ninth Legion (*Hispana*), a name derived from its recruiting place in Spain, was first perhaps at *Ratæ* (Leicester), certainly for a time at *Lindum* (Lincoln), and afterwards at *Eburacum* (York). It was a most unlucky legion, for, as we have seen, it was very badly cut up by Boudicca and practically annihilated in later years by the Brigantes, so much so that it was never reconstituted. It was replaced by

(3) The Sixth Legion (*Victrix*), whose memorials after A.D. 117 replace those of the Ninth.

(4) The Fourteenth Legion (*Gemina Martia*), which after the contest with Boudicca very justly received the further title of *Victores Britannici*. It was first cantoned at

Viroconion (Wroxeter) and then sent on to *Deva* (Chester), where it remained until 68, when it was removed from the island and replaced in Chester by

(5) The Twentieth Legion (*Valeria Victrix*), whose badge was the charging boar, so familiar in Chester, and in connexion with that town the legion remained during its stay in the island. We know a good deal about its movements, and some note of them from Mr. Harold Williamson's summary will give a good idea of what happened to a legion

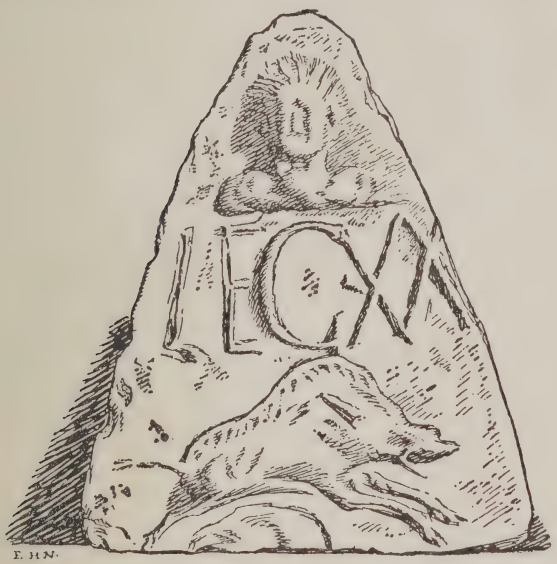

FIG 6.—ANTEFIX, WITH BADGE AND TITLE OF THE TWENTIETH LEGION (CHESTER)

on service in a distant province. To begin with, Suetonius took its *vexillarii*, i.e. its picked men, with him as he hurried the Fourteenth Legion south from Mona to his engagement with Boudicca. It became a rather turbulent and even mutinous regiment for some time, but settled down under the tactful rule of Agricola, whose first visit to Britain was as its general, for it was only later on that he returned as governor of the island. The Twentieth Legion was with him on that occasion, when he fought the battle at the

Mons Graupius. From that date the Twentieth was largely used for garrison duty in different parts of the island, and its traces are to be met with all over the large area inhabited by the Brigantes. Things in Wales became easier, and though Chester remained the head-quarters, it became possible to use the garrison elsewhere, and so in the reign of Hadrian much at least of the legion was occupied in building the great wall which bears his name and in defending it when built. Lollius Urbicus came over to construct the Antonine wall, and again the legion was employed in that task. Dedications of altars, some of which will be given in a later chapter, show where the legion, or parts of it, were stationed from time to time. The legion, or a part of it, went with Severus on his Caledonian campaign, where the presence of a *vexillatio* is shown at *Castra Exploratorum* (Netherby) by an inscription about A.D. 220, being the last dated inscription which has been found in connexion with it. In the time of Dion Cassius it seems to have been back again at *Deva*, and there it remained, as far as we know, until the very early years of the fifth century, when Stilicho withdrew from the northern part of Britain, as the poet Claudian tells us, a legion which seems to have been that with which we are now concerned, so that it shared in the glory of the defeat of Alaric in northern Italy in A.D. 403. This departure was the severance of its connexion with our island.

(6) The Second *Adjutrix* was substituted for the Fourteenth when Nero removed that legion for service in the east, and was for a time at *Lindum* until withdrawn by Domitian in A.D. 81, and sent to Pannonia.

There were three great legionary fortresses, and it was natural that there should gather round them bodies of civilians—camp-followers, sutlers, and the like—living on what they could make out of the troops. These set up first, perhaps, huts, later on more and more permanent buildings, collections of houses forming what would be called in India a bazaar, what the Romans called a *Kanaba*,

and sometimes these would be named after the legion to which they were attached, as is shown by a Dacian inscription, "*Kanabensium Legionis XIII.*" Such a Kanaba might attain size and importance, as we shall see was the case at York, and become a fully organized municipal unit. In other cases the forces were for quite a long time in some town, which they formed, yet afterwards left for a more distant station, the town then becoming one of an ordinary civilian character. Such was the case at Lincoln and at Gloucester. In most parts of the north-western region the military were in smaller fortresses, remains of which, shortly to be described, are to be seen in many places. Sometimes bazaars or Kanabæ grew up around these and attained all the privileges of a *vicus*, with its officials and village council. On the Continent this has been noted in connexion with the stations on the German *Limes*. There are examples also in our country—for instance, at Chesterholm on the wall of Hadrian, where an inscription has been found which was set up by the *Vicani Vindolandenses*, i.e. the villagers of the place in question, a duly organized body of inhabitants. This inscription incidentally gives us the real name of the place—"Vindolanda," as it stands in the Ravennas (see p. 82), and not "Vindolana" as in the "Itinerary." There is another instance of sufficient interest to be quoted, and that is at Caersws. This place is situated as nearly as possible in the centre of Wales, and the Roman station was on a road which leads to *Viroconion*, across the Severn. Here the military station was occupied at least as early as Vespasian, and continued so until the beginning of the third century. Its remains have been examined, including a deep walled treasure chamber. Near it is the native settlement of huts, shops, and taverns. Various trades were carried on in this, and besides red Gaulish pottery there have been found coins dating from A.D. 75–125. No evidence has yet been discovered that this had attained the official status of a *vicus*, but it is only by the accident of the preservation of a tablet that we know this about the

other place mentioned, and it is quite possible that the conditions at Caersws were the same.

England in many districts is almost peppered with divers kinds of earthworks, apart from burial mounds—a ditch or ditches with corresponding mounds, enclosing a space. These objects, commonly called "camps," are not all of ancient date, for one can find the dried-up banks of an

FIG. 7.—PLAN OF HOD HILL CAMP, DORSET
(500 ft. to 1 in.)
(Showing the small portion separated off by the Romans from the earlier fortress)

old pond very suggestive of a nearly obliterated earthwork, just as the mound of an old windmill may look very like a barrow. But there are plenty of old earthworks, circular, oval, square, and irregular, some of them much older than the Romans and going back to Neolithic days. At least a large number of the rectangular examples may tentatively be referred to the Romans, for that was their favourite

shape, but nothing but excavation can answer the question as to the date of an earthwork. Where they found it convenient the Romans were quite ready to make use of a fortification ready to their hand or to adapt it to their own purposes. On the top of Hod Hill, standing over the vale of Dorset, and a most commanding spot, there are the trenches of a huge pre-Roman camp, which when the soldiers of Rome took possession of it was a world too wide for them. So they made a small fortress for themselves in the most convenient corner by further ditches and banks. Josephus tells us that a Roman force when in an enemy country never bivouacked for the night without, so to speak, "digging themselves in" by constructing a ditch and mound to encircle their encampment and topping the latter with a stockade. In order that there might not be any doubt or delay about the stockade, each soldier on the march carried seven pointed stakes, which it may be presumed were pulled up in the morning to be used again at the end of the day's journey. Naturally such hastily constructed affairs would not last very long, and no doubt the vast majority, if not all of them, have disappeared without leaving any trace behind; but this is not the case with the more carefully constructed works, even of earth or sods, and still less of those of stone. Some of these were intended to be permanently occupied strong places, and we shall meet with a variety in connexion with the two walls; for again Josephus tells us that the Romans never made an attack on an enemy in the enemy's country without having previously constructed a fortified camp, which was square in shape and had an entrance on each face. These would be places of greater durability, and some of the persisting earthworks were possibly of this nature, though most of them, perhaps, were intended from the commencement for more permanent use. The internal arrangements differed from time to time, but in a general way it may be said that they were all constructed on a common plan, and that plan had a very ancient history. The early inhabitants of

northern Italy seem to have descended into it from the Alpine valleys of what is now Switzerland, and there had been in the habit of dwelling in wooden huts erected on platforms carried on numerous piles forced into the beds of the lakes of the district ; in a word, in what are called

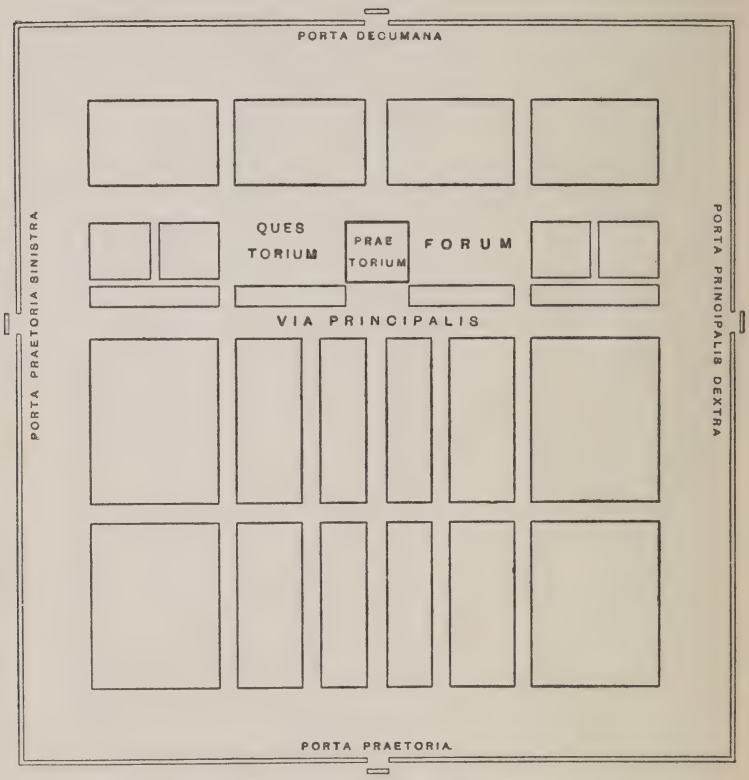

FIG. 8.—PLAN OF POLYBIAN CAMP

pile-dwellings and known to exist in more than one part of the world—Borneo, for example. This method is in conformity with the very natural belief that to get one's house encircled by water adds considerably to its safety. The idea is there in the *crannogs* of Ireland and Scotland, and indeed of England too, for there is the Lake Village at Meere near Glastonbury. It is there also in the moated

castles and mounds of Norman times, and in the moated farm-houses of the midland counties of a much later date. Now, when these early people came into a land where there were few (if any) lakes, they yet followed out their custom by making an artificial lake around their island, where there was no chance of making an artificial island in a lake. They constructed what are called "terramare," and the remains of many of these have been carefully examined in northern Italy. These are all quadrilateral in shape; they all have a cruciform arrangement of the main highways within, and they all have a moat surrounding them to replace the waters of the lake.

The Roman camp (and incidentally it may be mentioned the Roman city), when laid out on new ground and as a new thing, was planned on these lines. A position was settled for the erection of the camp, and here there was need for great judgment (Agricola has been handed down to posterity as one whose judgment in such a matter was unerring); and there were rules to assist the soldier laid down by writers on the subject of military fortifications. Hyginus tells his readers that they must avoid *novercæ* (*noverca*, i.e. a stepmother) or dangerous features. "Those defects which our ancestors called *novercæ* should always be avoided, such as a hill commanding the camp by which the enemy can descend in attack or see what is being done in the camp; or a wood where the enemy can lie in ambush; or ravines or valleys by which they can steal unawares on the camp; or such a situation of the camp that it can be suddenly flooded from a river."

Another writer, Vegetius, warns the planner of a camp that there must be in its neighbourhood abundance of water, food, and wood, and moreover that, if it is at all likely to be used for any length of time, a healthy spot should be selected. When the site was chosen, a quadrilateral area, with rounded corners, was marked out It was traversed by two main thoroughfares: one from north to south called

Via Prætoria ; the other from east to west—Via Principalis —which latter passed in front of the camp head-quarters, whether this was called Prætorium or Principium which, it appears, is the proper term for such buildings in all but the largest military cantonments. Here, at any rate, was the centre of rule, and here, if there was one, was the treasure-

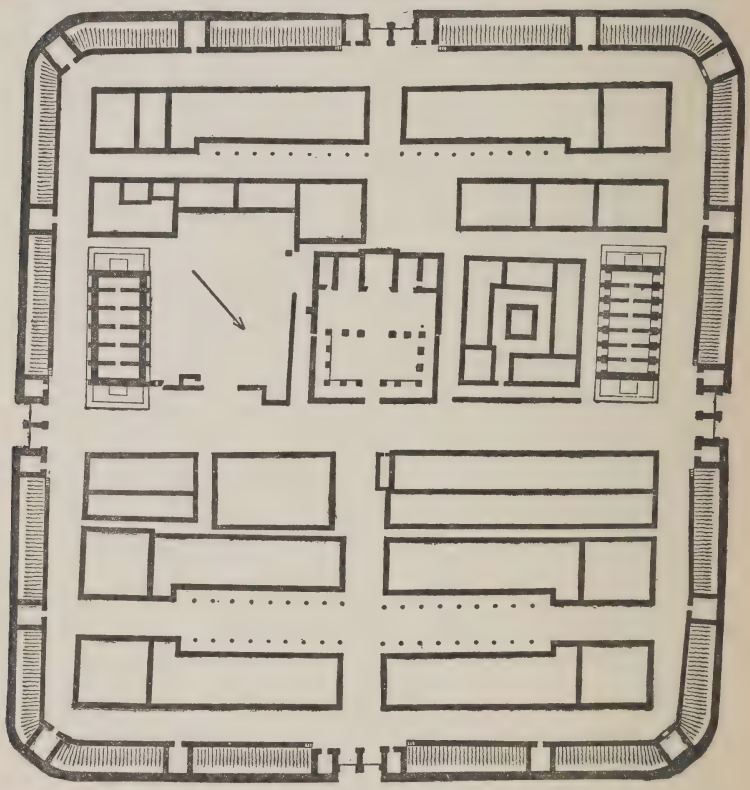

FIG. 9.—PLAN OF ROMAN FORT AT GELLYGAER. AFTER RODGER
(100 ft. to 1 in.)

chamber where the money of the detachment was kept, and the *sacellum* or sacred spot where the standards and emblems could be kept and venerated if the place were large enough to be provided with such objects. The angles of the cross were set out more or less in a chess-board fashion and occupied by the men of the detachment in

garrison. Fig. 7 shows the arrangement in one of the earlier camps; in later days it became much more complicated, as will be seen from Fig. 8, showing details of the very complete fort at Gellygaer.

It will, perhaps, be convenient to give some account of one of several of these camps which has been carefully examined, and Melandra Castle may be selected. Gellygaer is a larger and more perfect example—one of the most perfect examples in Europe, it is said—and it was most carefully examined by the late Mr. Ward. Melandra is, however, of interest from several points of view, and perhaps not least of all because it was probably on identical lines that the neighbouring *Mancunium* was modelled, and that was the predecessor of the great modern city of Manchester. First as to the selection of its position. The hill country of the north comes down into the south with a tongue the tip of which is just north of Derby. When the Roman forces divided, as described in the second chapter, one body marched east, the other west of this tongue, to *Lindum* and *Viroconion* respectively. The tongue of high land was, however, occupied—of course that was necessary—and it became in later days even the scene of a spa, though inferior in reputation to Bath, which was situated in a pleasanter, more peaceful, and more accessible spot. For baths of the Roman period have been found at Buxton, and it had the name of *Aquæ*, though what the qualification was is not known; perhaps, Mr. Anderson thinks, *Arnemezæ*. In this tongue of high land there were several strong forts, and Melandra Castle was one of them, placed to guard the western portion of one of the crossways connecting the great roads on the east of the mountains with those on the west, just as another fort at Brough guarded the eastern portion. It may have been erected by Agricola, or at least its site, protected on two sides by the river Etherow, may have been chosen by him. At any rate it was probably erected as early as about A.D. 80 and occupied until about the middle of the second century, when it seems to have

been disused for a time—perhaps left in the hands of "caretakers"—until the latter part of the third century, when it was again in use until towards the end of the fourth. It was a quadrilateral enclosure which, owing to some inaccuracy in its original setting-out, was not truly rectangular. Its corners were rounded and at each, as was commonly the case, there was a turret. It covered three and one-third acres of land, and its size was 398 by 368 feet. There were the usual four gateways, each with two openings and stone pillars and arches. The head-quarters was of stone and well preserved. There were the usual five rooms (see Fig. 8), the central one being the *sacellum*, or place where the standards were stored and venerated, and, where there was no other strongroom, probably where the treasure of the fort was kept. Other buildings can only be matter of surmise, but doubtless there was a granary or storehouse. In 1771 there was found in this camp a centurial stone, a translation of the inscription on which reads, "Valerius Vitalis, Centurion of the First Cohort of the Frisiavones." This may have been set up when the fort was built or when it was repaired, and shows that at that time, whatever it may have been, there were Frisians or, as we should call them, Dutchmen in garrison at Melandra.[1]

Further pages will reveal other points of interest in connexion with the internal arrangements of forts such as this, but here something may be said as to their external defences in addition to the walls and ditches and mounds which surrounded them. The garrisons were not large, and the foemen attacking them often came in large bodies and with a desperate courage in the charge which has been exhibited on many a stricken field in the centuries between those days and ours. In some way or another it was necessary to check or break these charges and various devices were adopted for the purpose. As the builders of the early earthen fortresses—for example Maiden Castle near Weymouth—had recognized, this was above all important at the places

[1] "Melandra Castle," edited by Professor Conway.

of entrance, and the books of military directions deal with the necessity for making a lateral and not a full face entry and for compelling the opponent to pass through that entry with his right or unprotected side foremost. In front of the entrances to camps, then, it was the custom often to make what was called a *titulus*, that is to say, a ditch perhaps sixty feet in front of the entrance which it was to guard and of considerable depth and width. Examples of this have been found in connexion with the camps of the northern wall. Another device of which an example has been found at Rough Castle, near Falkirk, on the Antonine wall, was employed years before by Cæsar when strengthening his lines at Alesia in Central Gaul in 54 B.C. He constructed a number of shallow pits in front of his lines. In the bottom of each was fixed a sharp pointed stake, and the top was covered with some light layer of heather or the like so as to deceive the oncoming foe. This long-lived device was also used in A.D. 1904 before Port Arthur. Cæsar's *lilia* were found to have been utilized at Rough Castle, where over an area of 50 × 200 feet there were a series of pits seven feet long, three wide, and two and a half deep. The site of this fort was selected by Agricola, who may have been responsible for the planning of these *lilia*.

CHAPTER IV

HOW THE ROMANS PROTECTED THEIR NORTHERN FRONTIER—THE TWO WALLS

TO summarize the statements made in a previous chapter it will be remembered that in the Caledonian wilds Agricola first of all round about A.D. 80 drew a line of forts from Clyde to Forth. Secondly, this line, after his recall, was abandoned for a more southerly line, ill-defined but on the Tweed, with which was involved the enlargement and fortification of the works at Newstead yet to be dealt with. Thirdly, round about A.D. 124 the southern wall of Hadrian was built to be the limit of the empire. Fourthly, round about A.D. 142 the northern or Antonine wall was built on the original line of Agricola. And finally, by A.D. 180 this line was given up and the more southerly boundary of the wall of Hadrian adopted and retained until the end came. Of these boundaries and the fortresses connected with them something will now be said.

The distance between the Clyde and the Forth is some five-and-thirty miles, being the narrowest point of Scotland—in fact a real isthmus.

A valley runs across the country at this point and on the hills of the southern side of this, leaping from spot to spot as strong points occur, the wall was constructed, of turfs, not of stone like its southern fellow, and either actually connected with or a short distance in front of its associated forts. There were a number of these, and that at Rough Castle was mentioned in the last chapter. There was one at Camelon, another at Mumrills, and so on. The camp at Bar Hill has been examined, and beneath a more recent fort with ramparts of sods and stone-built head-quarters,

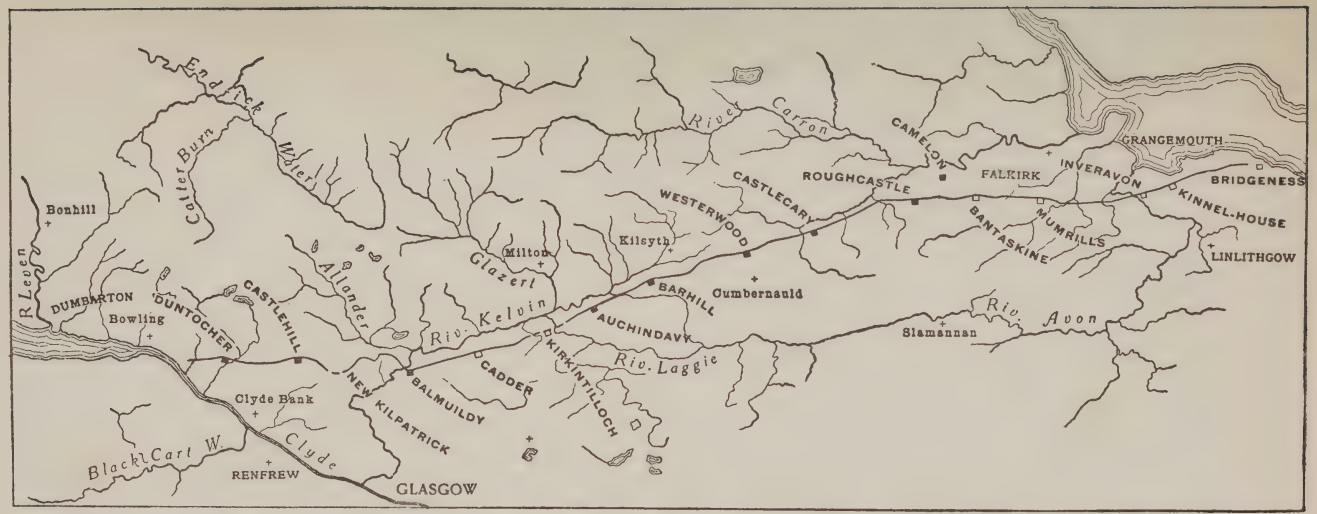

FIG. 10.—MAP OF THE ANTONINE WALL. THE KNOWN SITES OF FORTS SHOWN AS SOLID SQUARES; THE UNCERTAIN OR CONJECTURAL AS HOLLOW SQUARES
6 miles to 1 in.

granary, and baths—a place to accommodate 500 men—was found the older and much smaller fort with room for no more than 150, which was guarded by many mounds and ditches, as no doubt was most advisable, and contained a well wherein was found some of the tin copies of silver Roman coins which might not be offered as legal tender to one's fellow-man, but might, and were, as in this case to the genius of the well, be offered to the various divinities.

But the most carefully examined of these camps is that at Balmuildy,[1] no great distance from Glasgow on the Kelvin River, which protects the fortress on two sides. It is the fifth station from the western end of the wall, and is situated at a point where that line of fortification takes a sudden rectangular turn in jumping from one strong point to another. The ditches and stone wall by which it is surrounded cover, with the annexe, more than nine acres. It may have been the termination of a westerly road crossing the wall of Hadrian and passing to Birrens (perhaps *Blatobulgium*) near Ecclefechan, whence it is untraced. It seems very probably to have made its way north by way of Carstairs or thereabouts. The wall of this fort had an outer and an inner face of square-faced stones, with an interior core of rubble, and was backed by an earthen slope. Expansions at the corners found here and at some other forts may have been bases for projectile-throwing engines (cannon emplacements of the period), for a number of *ballista* balls have been found here as elsewhere in places provided with these expansions. The four gateways consisted of single arches, each flanked on either side by a turret with a flat roof, so the restoration shows. At the north gate there was an inscribed stone which tells us that " In honour of the Emperor Cæsar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, Father of his Country, the Legion II Augusta erected this under Quintus Lollius Urbicus, Legate of Augustus, Proprætor." The head-quarters here as elsewhere contained the classical five rooms, for the *sacellum* and,

[1] S. N. Miller: " The Roman Fort at Balmuildy."

it may be assumed, the chief executive officers of the fort. There was no vault in connexion with this *sacellum* for the treasure, as had been found in other places. There was a large dwelling-house, perhaps that of the commandant of the fort, and there was a complete set of baths; and here it may briefly be said—for the subject will be more fully discussed further on—that this does not mean a series of tubs, nor even a plunge bath, but something on the lines of what we now call a Turkish bath. There was another set of baths in the annexe, a place fenced off for the group of non-combatant camp-followers which collected in the immediate neighbourhood of all such places, as indeed has already been indicated in other cases where the *Kanaba* sometimes rose to the dignity of a *vicus*.

Evidences of disasters and reconstructions show that this fort, like others along the same line, had its share in the vicissitudes of this part of the empire. In a slight sketch such as this these have been sufficiently indicated for the purposes of this book, and those who would pursue the subject further will find ample chance in the work mentioned in the footnote above and in the sumptuous volume which next comes under consideration.[1] It has already been mentioned that the area between the two walls was once definitely part of the imperial territory, and there is even some dim tradition that it was the Province *Valentia*, of which mention is made but the whereabouts of which is unknown. In the centre of this district, on the River Tweed, which protected its northern and eastern sides (being those facing its prospective enemies), was the fortress of Newstead, which seems to have been the *Trimontium* of Ptolemy. Five years went to its excavation, and the volume which contains the account of these operations and the objects discovered is one of the most exhaustive which has ever been devoted to any archæological subject.

The lines of fortification at this spot varied at different times, but the place was always one of considerable size,

[1] Curle: "A Roman Frontier Post and Its People."

the latter fort having covered about twenty acres, and allowing fifteen of these to internal space. Thus it was somewhere midway between a legionary fortress and one of the smaller fortified enclosures of which we have just been speaking. It seems to have been first occupied at the end of the first century, that is to say, it was probably a place selected by Agricola. And perhaps it may best be understood if we consider that while the northern wall was in full effect it was a sort of base for its garrisons, and during the time after the recall of Agricola it was the strongest outpost of the Roman Empire in this part of the world.

Inside the ditches and mounds which surrounded the camp was the wall, and this was a real wall and no mere sheath to an earthen embankment, for it was seven feet and seven inches in thickness and made of hammer-dressed stones. The gateways were single openings with a guardhouse on either side. That much is left to conjecture here as elsewhere is due to the habit which in later and more peaceful days the surrounding population had in connexion with Roman buildings here and in England of using them as stone quarries. The Romans were not above using their own buildings for that purpose where they found it possible to do so, for it is thought that they themselves were the persons who stripped the fort near Haltwhistle of most of its dressed stones and took them to some other place which they were building. But the real devastation of places of archæological interest, Roman and otherwise, has been in later days for mending roads, for building houses, for erecting churches and religious houses. Even in my time I have known a schoolmaster, who might have been expected to know better but did not, destroy an entire and complete stone *cashel* in the south of Ireland to build himself a very ugly house out of the materials. In such ways these buildings have departed, and thus it is that it is only by the foundations and a few other indications that the painstaking antiquary is able to form some kind of a picture of what these fortresses and other buildings may have been like in the days

of their glory. Towers there were in many forts, but at Newstead there is evidence of these only in relation with the gateways. The head-quarters or *principium* here,[1] as was natural in a place of such importance, was of considerable size and even magnificence, having an outer and inner courtyard, on which latter were the usual five rooms, one of them the *sacellum*. In this case there was a treasure vault beneath the floor of this room for the military store chest and other moneys actually the property of some of the soldiers, such as funds contributed by soldiers to pay for their own burials.

It is interesting to note that at *Bremenium* (High Rochester, a place also between the walls) the opening from the *sacellum* to the vault for treasure was covered by a slab of stone which moved on iron wheels, and when this was removed a stone staircase was exposed which led down into the treasure vault. In this particular case there was found in the vault an altar dedicated to the genius of the emperor and to the standards of the first cohort of the *Varduli*, i.e. the garrison of the place. This altar was of course in the *sacellum* during the occupation of the fort, and was probably thrown into the vault when the place was abandoned. So we may understand the arrangement of the central of the five chambers—the *sacellum*—as a sort of castle chapel where the standards or emblems and trophies of the force garrisoning the fort were kept and where also was the altar to the genius of the emperor, and perhaps other altars and figures. Under it there may or may not have been a treasure vault. When there was not, the treasure may have been kept in the *sacellum*, or perhaps elsewhere in the fort. As to the other four rooms, they may have been occupied respectively by the adjutant, the commissariat officer, the book-keepers, and the staff officers. Besides the *principium* there was a house, perhaps that of the commandant, with nineteen apartments; there were baths; there were the barrack huts, twelve rows of small

[1] Consult Fig. 8 on p. 50 for details at Gellygaer.

huts in pairs; there were granaries. As to garrison, it would seem that there were two cohorts—about 1,000 infantry—and the horsemen of an *ala Vocontiorum*, an *ala* of which little if anything is known. There are three stones bearing the charge of the boar, the emblem of the Twentieth Legion, and there are three altars dedicated by G. Arrius Domitianus, centurion of the same legion, so that it seems likely that the legion in question may have taken part in the building of the fortress and perhaps have helped to garrison it for a time. That their badge would seem to indicate; but as to the altars the centurion who set them up may have been seconded from his own regiment to take temporary charge of a body of auxiliaries. It has not been thought well here to note the pottery and other objects found in the forts unless there was some special reason for so doing, since these objects usually fall into classes which will be dealt with in later chapters.

But the helmets, plain and ornamented, and visors found in some of the rubbish pits at Newstead must by no means be omitted from a description of the place.

In this place have been found many of the objects mentioned in a former chapter as the ordinary dress and appurtenances of the soldier, even the scales which, linked together, made up the armour covering his leather jerkin. Ordinary legionary helmets of simple form and undecorated have been found also, but in addition highly decorated helmets, and especially beautiful visors shaped in actual copy of the face and head with curly hair and of really admirable outlines, have come to light, and from an account given by the writer Arrian there seems no doubt that these protections for the head, which were padded within but of too light make for actual warfare, were worn on ceremonial occasions; in fact were to the other kind of helmet as the full dress of the guardsman is to the khaki which he puts on when he really means business. This great and interesting fortress was abandoned somewhere before A.D. 180, after which time all the works which had been arduously erected

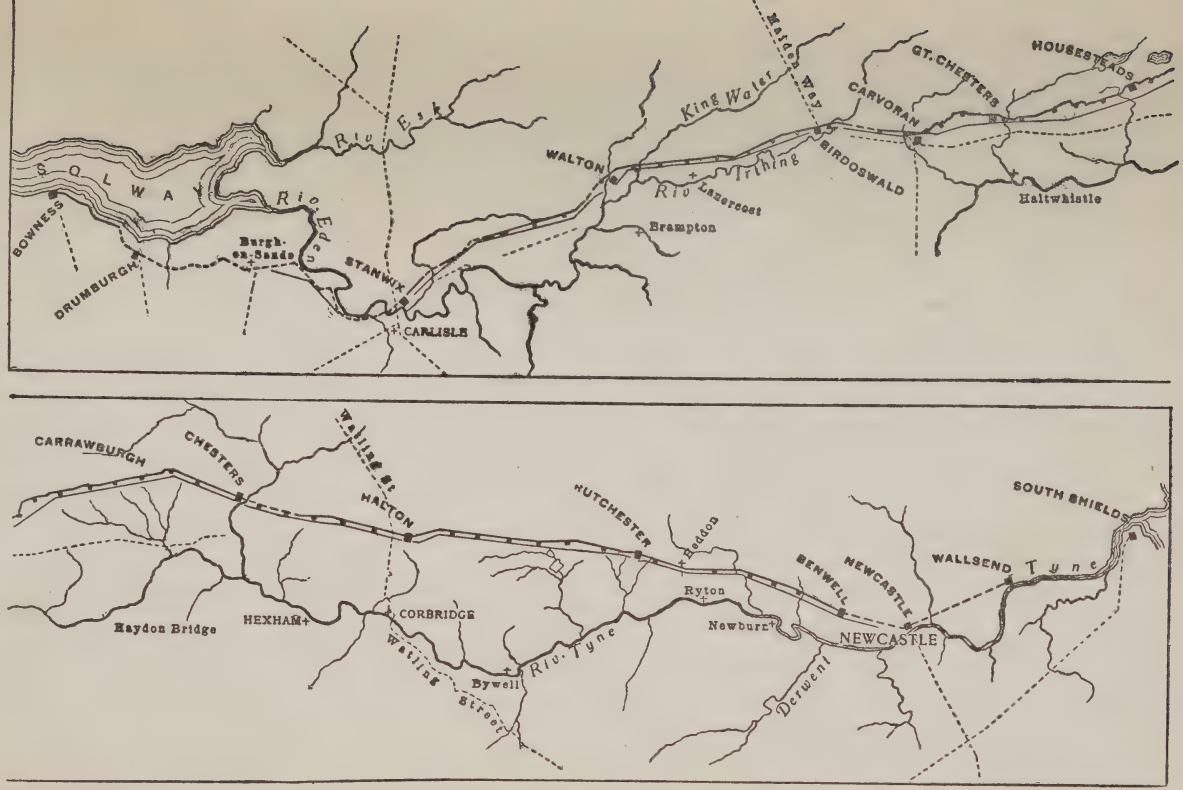

FIG. II.—MAP OF THE WALL OF HADRIAN. THE WALL SHOWN AS A THICK LINE; THE VALLUM, AS A THIN LINE; THE FORTS, AS LARGE BLOCK SQUARES; AND THE MILE-CASTLES, AS SMALL SQUARES (6 miles to 1 in.)

by the labours of Roman legionaries became "waste chesters," stripped no doubt by the Caledonians of any portable property which might have been left by the soldiery, and taken down in later years stone by stone when the ruins became the stone quarry of the builders of the neighbourhood.

Let us turn to the consideration of the southern wall of Hadrian, a much lengthier and more ambitious piece of work of which great and varied remains persist to this day. It is seventy-three and a half miles in length, and starting at *Segedunum* the very appropriately named Walls End, passes Newcastle-on-Tyne, then a small station called *Pons Aelii* (i.e. Hadrian), where there was, we must assume, a bridge, and where there were bargemen all the way from the Tigris. From this the road ran along the heights above the Tyne, but it has been destroyed. In 1745 the English troops were hung up by the impassable mud beyond Newcastle, whilst the Scotch under the Young Pretender were coming south through Carlisle. The leader of the English forces was a General Wade.

> If you'd but seen these roads before they were made,
> You'd hold up your hands and bless General Wade!

as a rhyme of his day proclaims. He was a road-maker and, acting upon the advice of a certain Warburton, of evil fame, he caused a road to be made along the line of the wall and, for twenty-seven miles out of Newcastle, out of the materials of the wall itself, so that only earthworks now remain. Then the wall scales the heights of great stone bluffs looking to the north, and the road leaves it to take an easier course to Carlisle, so that the ancient work persists with many of its attached fortresses. Then it comes down to lower ground again as it nears the Solway, and ends—though all traces of this part have long disappeared—at Carlisle, though there is nothing but the objects in the local museum to show where *Luguvallium*, the last town on the wall, once stood.

The work consisted of a deep ditch to the north, nine feet deep and thirty-four from one margin to the other. South of this was the stone wall built by order of Hadrian, which was sixteen feet high above the ground, and in its lower part seven to eight feet in thickness. At the upper part, and of course on the southern side, the thickness was reduced to form a gallery for fighting men. South of the wall were certain earthworks, as to the date and use of which there have been innumerable discussions, yet the question remains unsolved. It has been suggested that they were a southern protection against marauders from Ireland, who used to come over in boats coloured to look like the sea (an early example of camouflage), and hence called *picti*, a rather confusing term in this district. Yet a very erudite writer says that it is " quite certain that the Vallum (i.e. the earthworks in question) was not a military work nor meant for

FIG. 12.—DIAGRAMMATIC SECTION OF WALL OF HADRIAN
A, Ditch; B, Wall; C, Road; D, Vallum

defence against anyone," and that " it was not an independent work but part of a larger whole." And there we must leave it, as well as an even more puzzling two miles of turf wall—a problem yet to be cleared up by antiquaries. It will be remembered that two roads crossing the wall have already been mentioned, and these were, with others, the means of communication with the southern parts of the island and the arteries through which flowed supplies of food and drafts of men. There were twenty-three stations in relation to the wall of which perhaps fifteen were actually on it. Between these stations were smaller mile-castles, each capable of containing a modest garrison; and again between these were towers for sentries, of which towers there seem to have been two between each pair of mile-castles. Over thirty of these towers have now been found,

perhaps even more by the time these pages will become public, and these are recessed several feet into the great wall. In two cases the turret walls have been removed and the space within filled up, and this in Roman days, so that it would appear that even then the use of some of them was dispensed with.

Of the various towns and stations which are related to the wall *Corstorpitum* the modern Corbridge must first receive attention as a place of considerable importance, and one which has been fairly fully explored. It is some miles south of the wall on the Tyne, which was bridged by the Romans at this point. The works covered thirty acres, which, however, were not all built over. What is taught as to its history by the excavations may first be mentioned before any objects found are described. It seems first of all to have been occupied, as the coins show, at the end of the first century, and may therefore have been set up by Agricola, or at least used by him as the base of his Caledonian campaign. When the Antonine wall was made it seems as if it had been intended that this should be the main base for all northern operations, perhaps even that it should oust *Eburacum* from its position as the legionary city of the north, at any rate that it should be a great base for supplies. Finally there are signs of fresh activity of a military kind about the time of Severus, so that in all the three main operations against Caledonia *Corstorpitum*, as indeed one would expect from its position, played a part. Then, as offensive operations against the north came to an end, *Corstorpitum* became more of a mercantile town and less of a barrack city, so that, as Haverfield puts it, " it became a town rather than a fortress, dominated, no doubt, by military elements, but dominated rather in a social than an administrative sense "—not an Aldershot, for example, but a county town with its depot near it ; under civic government but very much under military influence on all its social side.

About A.D. 343 Picts broke through the wall and *Corstor-*

pitum was burnt but again restored. It seems to have ceased to be inhabited before the end of the fourth century, and it was later on pretty completely devastated by the barbarians, though fortunately they missed a few things which have been left to be discovered in our own or in recent times. There was a broad street leading up from the bridge, with buildings on each side of it, and amongst these buildings is one called the "forum": not that in reality, but perhaps a storehouse of large size, with "rusticated" stones.

There were two other large granaries at any rate, and near one of them was found a slab bearing a dedication to Pius by Lollius Urbicus, the builder of the Antonine wall. The date of this is A.D. 140, that is, the date of the commencement of the work on that wall. North of the forum there was a circular building, near which has been found a panel with two draped figures and what appears to be a cock and serpent, which were the symbols of Æsculapius. Other inscriptions which may be mentioned are one on a drinking fountain commemorating the Twentieth Legion and two in connexion with the Sixth Legion. One of these is an altar *Soli Invicto*, i.e. the unconquered sun (see Chap. XIV), set up about 161 by Calpurnius Agricola. The other was set up by a centurion to "*Iovæ Aeterno Dolicheno et Cælesti Brigantiæ.*" The first part of the ascription is dealt with in the chapter named above, and as to the second the term "Cælesti" we are told is rarely used outside of North Africa, and the Brigantia is presumably the deity of the Brigantes, who were the dominant people between the Humber and the wall. One very curious legionary inscription remains to be mentioned. Everybody has read Mr. Kipling's vivid tale about the Roman wall in "Puck of Pook's Hill" called "A Centurion of the Thirtieth." Now the Thirtieth Legion never was either at the wall nor in Britain in A.D. 380, when it is placed there in the tale, nor indeed at any other time. Yet by a curious coincidence (long after the tale was written, I believe) there

was found at *Corstorpitum* a stone on which is inscribed LEG XXX VV COH VII, i.e. the seventh cohort of the Thirtieth Legion, *Vlpia Victrix*, a body of men whose station was in Lower Germany. The first X is clearly an added feature to the inscription, and perhaps it was scratched there by some stray Lower German soldier, for the VV would fit either legion. Last of all may be mentioned a tombstone as an example of the extremely cosmopolitan nature of the troops on the wall: "*D M (Ba)rathres Palmorenus vexi(l)la(rius) vixit annos lxviii.*" A standard bearer possibly in some corps of auxiliaries, and, if the name Barathres has been accurately restored, the husband of a woman of British birth, by name Regina, whose tombstone was found at South Shields and is shown in Fig. 58 (right hand) facing page 182. The husband was from Palmyra, and here we have recorded one of what must have been a multitude of mixed marriages whereby strange streams of blood began to flow along the course of the wall, the traces of which no doubt to-day exist to form ethnological puzzles. A pottery shop in which Samian pottery, the only find of so late a character, laid by itself, with other pottery in its own place, together with coins of the fourth century, the latest of 380, is another discovery, and in connexion with these coins it may be mentioned that the largest find of gold coins discovered in Britain, amounting to 159 and extending from Nero to Marcus, was made in this town. Years ago a silver *lanx* or tray engraved with figures was found here in the bank of the Tyne; and in a well in these last years was discovered a piece of sculpture representing a lion standing over the body of a stag, which lion, though much more like a dog than the animal it is supposed to represent, still has a good deal of vigour and life about it.

Chesters, the Roman *Cilurnum*, is a station some miles west of the last place described and actually on the wall, which, however, has been destroyed at this point. It is five and a half acres in extent and had the unusual number of six entrances, the additional pair being on the eastern and

FIG. 13.—THE WALL OF HADRIAN AT CUDDY'S CRAG

western sides respectively. Here are the remains of a bridge over the North Tyne with an abutment twenty-two feet in breadth and protected by a small *castellum*. The remains of the barracks here are quite extensive, and an inscription shows us that at one time details of the Sixth Legion were here. But the " Notitia " gives its garrison as consisting of the second *ala* of Asturian cavalry, i.e. auxiliaries. Still further to the west is *Borcovicus* (Housesteads), another station on the wall covering five acres. Here, as in so many other places in Britain, we are confronted with the phenomenon of partially blocked and thus greatly narrowed gateways, a silent testimony, wherever it occurs, to the waning of imperial power and the diminution in imperial forces, for, as the defenders grew fewer, the need for greater defence against the rushing of entrances became pressing and was met by narrowing the places of entry. This place was garrisoned, according to the " Notitia," by the first cohort of Tungarians, that is, by an infantry force of auxiliaries.

Again to the west and on the wall, where a road now called the " Maiden Way " crosses it, is *Amboglanna* (Birdoswald), also five and a half acres in extent, and an inscription informs us that " the first cohort of Dacians (the Ælian cohort) under Marcus Claudius Menander tribune built this by order of Modius Julius Imperial Legate and Proprætor."

Still further west, and the last place which need be mentioned, there is the inscribed rock over the river Gelt where, as Tennyson wrote,

> the vexillary hath left
> Crag carven over the streaming Gelt;

the inscription which reads in translation " A vexillation of the second legion under an optio called Agricola were, in the consulship of Flavius Aper and Albinus Maximus, employed to hew stone here "—that is to say, that a body of men from the Second or Augustan Legion, whose headquarters was at *Castra Legionum*, were in 207 either engaged

in hewing stone or perhaps more probably in looking after a forced *corvée* of natives carrying out that work. The *optio* who was in charge of these men, a subordinate officer to the centurion, was one Agricola.

It is an interesting thing to reflect on the extraordinary diversity of races which found for a time a habitation on one or other of these walls. As we have seen, there were bargemen from the Indus at Newcastle-on-Tyne ; there were Asturians at *Cilurnum* and Tungrians at *Amboglanna* ; in addition to these there were more Asturians as cavalry at *Condercum* and *Æsica*, other stations on the wall ; and elsewhere there were Frisians, Dacians, Batavians, Thracians, Gauls, and others. Such a mixture of races, continued for so many years, must have led to much intermixture of blood, and there must be many strange strains even to-day along the Scottish border. In this connexion we must not forget the civilian annexes to the fortresses which attached themselves no doubt to many of the places connected with the wall and in which there would be opportunities of meeting with the natives. Little has so far been done in the investigation of the ground which was covered by these bazaara, but there was at *Cilurnum* a large bathing establishment outside the fort, and between it and the river Tyne, and there was a smaller one outside the fort at *Æsica*. This reminds us of the state of affairs at Newstead. At *Borcovicus* there was a Mithræum outside the walls of the fort, and perhaps further search will reveal other objects in close relation to but outside the confines of the stations of the wall.

CHAPTER V

ROMAN ROADS AND CITIES IN BRITAIN

NO one can deny the statement that the Romans were the greatest road-makers of the world, that is, on imperial lines. Various colonies in their times have made many miles of roads, but it was the central organization of the empire which decreed that there should be military roads of strategic importance in all its wide domain, and that those roads should be of excellent character and supplied with conveniences for travellers. Miss Skell's little book on "Travel in the Roman Empire" affords a complete view of that road system, and some idea of what it meant may be gathered from Gibbon's statement that one could travel from the *Limes Imperii*—the Antonine wall—to Jerusalem, 4,080 measured Roman miles, and of that distance, save for sea-travel of forty-five miles from *Rutupiæ* (Richborough) to *Gesoriacum* (Boulogne) and forty from *Brindusium* to *Dyrrachium*, all would be imperial roads. And to this may be added the further statement that the round trip could be completed by passing from Jerusalem along the north coast of Africa and crossing to Gibraltar. That these road-makers were not afraid of difficulties is shown by their track over the Great St. Bernard, which can be seen in many places near the modern road. In the monastery of ancient fame may be seen many relics of the temple of Jupiter, which stood at the top of the pass at the spot where the statue of St. Bernard has been erected. These were, it must be remembered, first-class roads, provided with milestones and, more than that, with change-houses where relays of horses could be obtained and with

mansiones where a night's rest could be had—rough enough no doubt, but so one understands are the governmental dâk-bungalows in India. Further, the roads were well policed, so that traffic could be carried on without danger. In fact, it is not too much to say that at no time since the empire down to the present day could journeying be made with such safety over such stretches of road in Europe, Asia Minor, and North Africa as at the period with which we are dealing. As to their excellence, we can judge for ourselves in certain instances even to-day, and the fact that Cæsar travelled 100 miles in the day on his way from Rome to the Rhone shows what they were. Something will be said about their structure at a later point, and for the present it need only be mentioned that in addition to the main strategic roads of which we have been speaking there were many by-roads—*viæ vicinales*, leading to *vici* or villages.

When the Romans took possession of Britain it must not be supposed that there were no roads, for there must have been a multitude of trackways reaching back to Neolithic days, though no doubt mostly Keltic, along which communication took place. We may safely say that the Romans used all of these, but it was only a limited number that they, so to speak, worked over and made into first-class highways. Many of the others remained what a number are to this day, lanes and even less dignified tracks, sometimes to be identified with great difficulty. As an example let us consider a long cross road which starts from the Fosse Way (see Fig. 24) at the charming village of Bourton-on-the-Water and ends, as is sometimes thought, at Wall or *Letocetum* on the Watling Street, though there is at least a prolongation, further north towards and beyond Derby. I choose this example because I have walked over nearly the whole of its southern portion. In various places this is a mere track through woods, as over the Cotswolds, where it is now called "Buckle Street." Then under the name of "Ryknild Street" it can be picked up as a track across fields; as

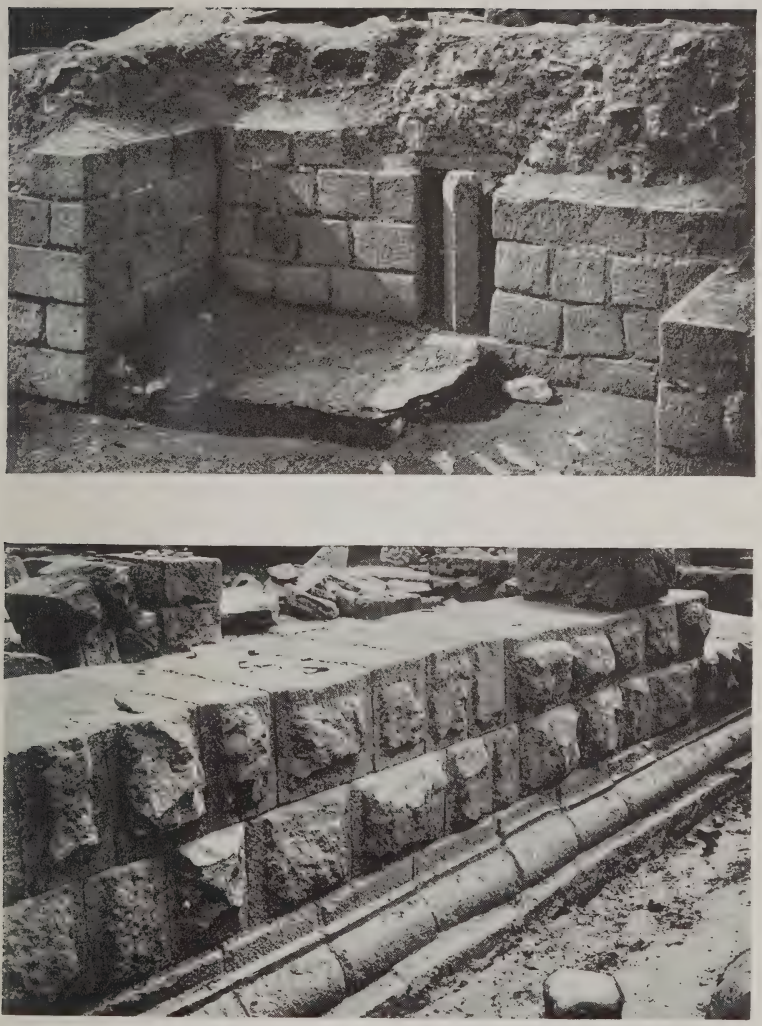

FIG. 14.—WALLS OF SO-CALLED GRANARY AND "RUSTICATED" MASONRY WITH MOULDED PLINTH, CORBRIDGE

a narrow hidden pathway, or, in one place near Studley, as a bit of the main road from Birmingham. It passed through that city at the junction of Harborne and Edgbaston, and there in the hollow at the foot of two slopes I have been told that paved road was found years ago when alterations were taking place. That is the only evidence that I know of which points to the road having been " made over," and perhaps it was only a causeway in this no doubt then very boggy bottom. From this point it becomes " Monument Lane," and we pick it up again on the common called Streetly (from this very " street,") near Sutton Coldfield. In part of its course it is called the " Saltway," and a side road which ran from it no doubt brought that commodity from Droitwich. It passed through the great Forest of Arden, and was the only road through that dreaded place. And by another side road it connected with Stratford-on-Avon, another place which gets its name from the " street " which here crossed the Avon by a ford.[1] This is commonly called a Roman road in the books on that subject, and no doubt it was used by that people ; but it is perhaps better to keep the term used above for those roads which were " made over " for imperial purposes and concerning which something must now be said. In 1070 the laws were cognisant of what were known as the Quatuor Chimini or Four Roads on which the King's Peace held. There is some dispute on this matter which is largely academic as the legislation was altered in a few years, but it seems probable that the roads in question were (1) Watling Street ; (2) Fosse ; (3) Erming ; and (4) Icknield, of which the last is clearly a British trackway named after the Iceni of Norfolk and that district and never was reworked by the Romans except perhaps, as Haverfield thought, at its eastern extremity, though it cannot be doubted that they must have made frequent use of it. There is very grave doubt and dispute about the exact geography of the Roman roads, but the general lines, as laid down by the late Professor Haverfield,

[1] See Chap. IX for account of the rest of this road.

may be taken as fairly generally agreed upon and they are as follow. As we set them down it will be interesting to note how closely the railway connexions of the present day follow the main trend of the ancient roads, all of which were probably in their origin British trackways, and this of course because in all cases physical geography was the dominating factor.

1. From London through Rochester to Canterbury[1] and thence by three branches to the three main ports of the Channel, of which Richborough was the most used. This is often called "Watling Street," and of course it connected with that road in London. This road corresponds with the course of the South-Eastern Railway.

2. From London to the north-west, through St. Albans, Wall, Wroxeter, Chester, with branches to Leicester and Lincoln. This is the true Watling Street, and the main line of the London and North-Western Railway very closely corresponds with it. In order to illustrate the confusion which exists in the nomenclature of these roads it may be mentioned that there is another Watling Street which runs north and south in Shropshire, passing through the Strettons (which get their name from it), and another in the region of Hadrian's wall.

3. From London west to Silchester, and then by branches to Winchester, Exeter, Bath, Gloucester, and South Wales. It is represented more or less by the Bath road of to-day and corresponds with the main line of the Great Western Railway.

4. From London to Colchester and the eastern counties, followed in its course by the Great Eastern Railway.

5. From London northwards to Lincoln and York. A series of rather ill-defined roads called as a whole "Erming Street." Corresponding on the whole with the Great North Road, sacred to the memory of Dick Turpin, and to the main line of the Great Northern Railway.

[1] In this case for the sake of clearness the modern names are given. The Roman cities will be dealt with when the roads come to be considered in detail.

FIG. 15.—EAST ABUTMENT OF ROMAN BRIDGE, NEAR CHESTERS

6. A curious oblique road possibly commencing near Seaton in Devonshire and never touching London, which passes through Bath, Cirencester, Leicester, to Lincoln, and is called the "Fosse." It has no corresponding railway line.

7. The Icknield Street of which mention has been made. A British trackway in almost its entire extent, Haverfield thought that the eastern end had been worked by the Romans. It runs from Norfolk to the Berkshire Downs, nearly due west, and is a fragmentary track.

8. The Akeman Street from London to Bath, and also in some respects corresponding to the third road though north of it, is said by some to owe its name to the fact that it was along this road that the aching man dragged his gouty joints to the healing waters of Bath. Others have derived it from the word *aquæ*, for the Roman name of the place was *Aquæ Sulis*, i.e. the waters of Sul, identified by the Romans with Minerva.

Before considering these roads and the cities which lay along them in detail, it will be convenient to take a purely imaginary day's journey on a road—no particular road but a generalized thoroughfare—and consider the kind of things which we might expect to meet. Having done this and arrived at our city of rest for the night and cast an eye on its features, we shall have acquired information which will prevent much repetition in succeeding chapters.

We must suppose that we have passed the night at a *Mansio*, or government inn. Probably the accommodation was pretty bad, as Horace said was the case near Rome, where to avoid the manifold discomforts people drove in vehicles in which it was possible to sleep at night. We set out to drive in an *essedum* or *carrus* (from which we get our "car"), a Keltic name with a Latin termination, to drive along a very well-kept, very straight road. Interminable straightness is always held to be a characteristic of the Roman road, and so it very often is. But not always; for examine the Cotswold road at Birdlip and you will find

that while the modern road inexorably attacks that severe climb, what appears to be the Roman (almost obliterated) can be made out winding its way up through the woods. And again note that all straight roads are not Roman ; for there are no more rigidly ruled lines than those of the enclosure roads of the eighteenth century, of which a number may be seen in that same Cotswold district. Along this straight road would be rows of trees, elms and poplars, both introduced by the Romans, with ditch and bank and, near towns, a low parapet, on which we are told that, in Italy, the beggars sat to collect alms. We should not go very far without noticing a milestone, for the ways were well supplied with these, though nearly all are gone long ago, cracked up for road metal in days when archæological interest was dead, some fifty-five alone having survived to our time. One which exists in Leicester Museum will give us an idea of what they were like, and it reads in translation, " During the Emperorship of the divine, august, most great and noble Cæsar Hadrian, son of the divine, august, most noble Trajan Conqueror of Parthia, in the fourth year of his tribunitial power ; thrice consul. Two miles to *Ratæ*," i.e. Leicester. It seems but a halfpennyworth of bread to an intolerable deal of sack, but in the end we get the information which we want, which is not the case with all Roman milestones, for very often no distance is recorded on them. Along the road we might pass other *mansiones*, with *mutationes*, where we could obtain a relay of horses. Further there would be *cauponæ* or *tabernæ*, that is, private taverns where, in many cases, the freedman of some noble or wealthy owner in the vicinity presided over the sale of wine and farm produce from his estate. Wine—what has become of British wine ? There must have been a good deal made at one time, for the records of the expenses of Warwick Castle mention payment of women for several days in the year for gathering the grapes in the vineyard at the castle, and the Vinum de Ledebure, or Ledbury, had its reputation in the Mediæval days. Any modern wines made from grapes which

FIG. 16.—ROMAN MILESTONE IN THE LEICESTER MUSEUM
"Two miles to Ratæ"

FIG. 17.—LONDON STONE

have been sampled by me have never incited any desire for a second glass. And it is only in certain years that the grapes ripen sufficiently out of doors to produce this very modest beverage. We must leave it there. Wine they had in Roman and Mediæval times. Side roads from our main thoroughfare from time to time branch off to some village and are distinguished by possessing hedges and not banks and ditches. Sometimes we may cross a stream by a stone bridge, sometimes it will be a ford, and here and there in some boggy place a well-constructed causeway has been laid down. At times we might have to make our way through one of the great forests which abounded at that day, and here we should find different trees from those along the roads —oaks, hollies, ashes, yews, birches, wych-elms, all indigenous, and here we might even come across or catch sight or sound of wild boars, wolves, or the great wild cattle, wild cats, red or roe deer, and might even get down to examine a beavers' dam. Every now and then we might pass a villa, perhaps the country house of some man of means, or perhaps only a farm, approached by a short avenue. Such would be the main objects which we should come across on our way to the city, which was our destination. And as we arrived at it the first thing which we should encounter would be the lines of tombs. The Laws of the Twelve Tables laid it down most strictly that a dead body was neither to be buried nor burnt within the confines of a city, and the cemeteries were along the lines of the main roads leading to and from the cities. Again, outside the walls we might very probably see the amphitheatre placed without the city to economize space. Then we reach the town itself. From the beginning the Romans were town dwellers, and all, it must never be forgotten, were citizens not of the Roman Empire but of the City of Rome. It is just as if every one of us when interrogated as to his nationality found it needful to respond not " British subject " but " London citizen." St. Paul, it will be remembered, though born in Tarsus in Cilicia and " a citizen of no mean city," was none the less

a citizen of Rome, and as such had his rights just as if he had been born and brought up in the centre of the empire. When the Romans laid out a city from the very commencement, they had accurate rules to direct them. The *augur* fixed upon the *umbilicus* or central point, and thence were drawn two lines of street the *Kardo maximus* running north and south and the *Decumanus maximus* running east and west, just on the plan of the camp, as we have seen. The respective widths of these would have been fixed in the *lex colonica* permitting the building of the city, and might run from twenty-five to forty feet. Then other side streets were laid down so as to divide the city into blocks on the chessboard pattern of American cities. Such a city for example was that of Timgad, or Thamugadi, in North Africa, which was constructed by the Third Legion, which had the hereditary duty of looking after that part of the world in the time of Trajan, about A.D. 100 and was seventeen years a-building.

Outside the town was always a space beyond the walls on which no building was permitted, and this was called the *pœmœrium*. Its margin was marked off by stones called *cippi* placed at intervals. Sir Laurence Gomme thought that the name of this district in Roman *Londinium* was possibly to be found in that of the Church of St. Martin Pomeroy, and moreover that the well-known London stone, sometimes thought to have been the "golden" milliary from which all road measurements in Britain were made, was part of the gate of the city at this point. Outside or more rarely inside the city was often an amphitheatre. The Romans had an extraordinary love for amusement, and the amphitheatre was their cinema house. "*Panem et circenses*" was the prescription for popular discontent. In the time of Augustus sixty-six days per annum were set apart for amusement in Rome, and later on, under Marcus Aurelius, the number had risen to one hundred and thirty-five. This of course did not include extraordinary occasions of rejoicing, such as Trajan's Dacian triumph, which lasted

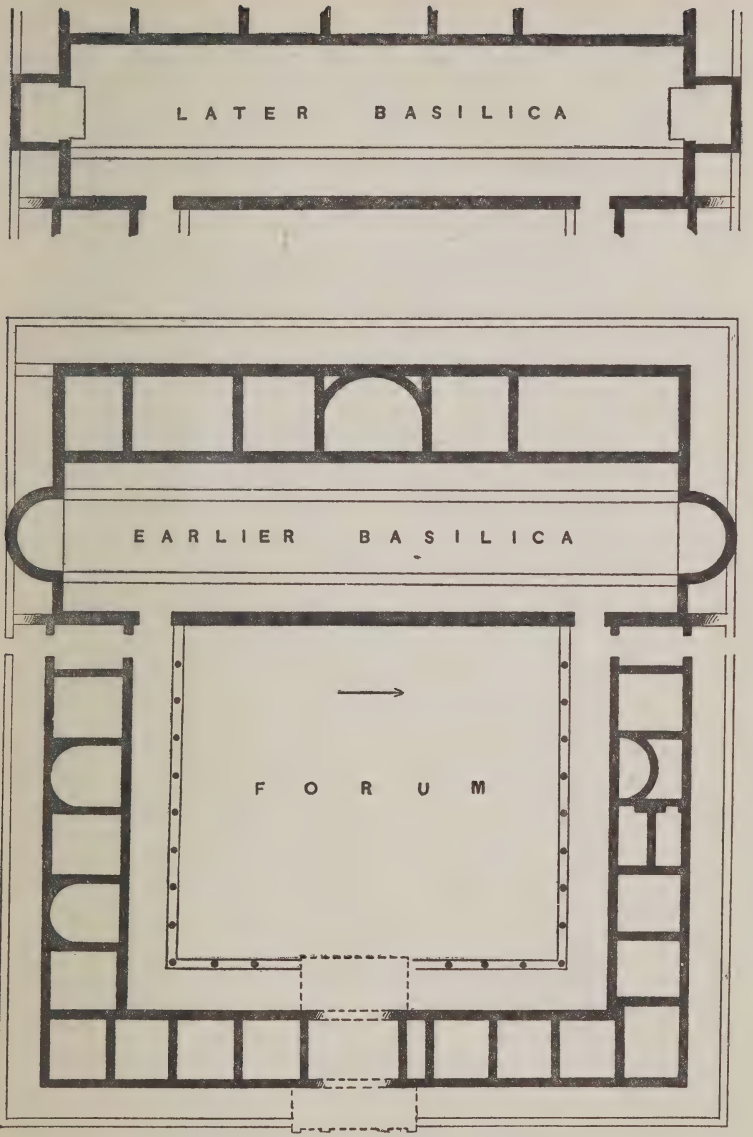

FIG. 18.—THE FORUM AND BASILICA, SILCHESTER
(7 ft. to 1 in.)

for one hundred and twenty-three days and in which ten thousand gladiators were engaged.

England has none but earthen amphitheatres; nothing to compare with the splendid buildings at Arles and Nîmes in the south of France, to say nothing of Rome. Nor have we any gateway to compare with the Porta Nigra at Trèves, built about A.D. 260, with a double archway for traffic, arcaded galleries, and two towers also with arcaded upper floors.

The chief Roman gateway remaining in England is that at Lincoln, which will be described in its proper place, and that is quite a modest portal compared with the example just alluded to.

All cities of any claim to importance contained a certain group of public buildings which must now be enumerated.

First of all comes the *Basilica*. As its name tells us, it had a Grecian parentage. It was a place of meeting for the citizens, an exchange for the merchants, an adjunct of the market place, the place where justice was administered. Frequently it had an apsidal termination, and on its model were constructed many at least of the early Christian churches, so that the "Basilica type" became a recognized form which is constantly employed even to-day, as witness Westminster Cathedral. From this sprang also the apsidal-ended Gothic churches, like Tewkesbury Abbey, a type which gradually succumbed to the square-ended church of Keltic origin. The Forum, usually closely connected with the basilica, was originally a market place, but afterwards used as a place of justice and for meetings. "In a typical Roman town," says an authority, "it was a piazza thronged by citizens for purposes of intercourse and discussion and surrounded by the public buildings in which the most important civic functions took place."

The Public Baths were a feature in Roman civilization to which England has only reattained in comparatively late years. These also the Romans borrowed from the Greeks, but, once borrowed, they far surpassed their

examples both in numbers and complexity of their bathing establishments. At one time there were no less than eight hundred and fifty such in Rome and, as Horace tells us, they were either free or entered for no higher charge than a *quadrans*, that is to say, about one farthing. The Baths of Caracalla, one of the largest in Rome, could contain at one time sixteen hundred bathers, and those of Diocletian were intended for double that number. It must be understood that these were not mere plunge- or swimming-baths but very much like what we now call Turkish baths. Each had hot, tepid, and cold rooms, plunge- and swimming-baths, an *apodyterium* or undressing room; a *palæstra* where games of various kinds were engaged in, and a room where the bather could be scraped down with the *strigil*, a narrow sheet of flexible metal with two handles. We shall see that every respectable house had an establishment of this kind though naturally on a much smaller scale.

The city would of course contain several temples and perhaps a Christian church. Sometimes there was a true theatre as contrasted with the amphitheatre—a place for stage plays and not for gladiatorial contests or chariot races. There is a magnificent example of this at Orange, the Roman Arausio. Built under Julius Cæsar it was used as a fortress in the time of the barbarian invasions, subsequently restored, and is used now for plays annually, seating some sixteen hundred persons.

There does not seem to have ever been anything on this scale in England.

Lastly, there would be the houses in which the inhabitants of the city resided, and these were placed in the *insulæ*, or " blocks," as they would be called in an American city, not close up to one another in formal rows, but scattered about with a certain amount of ground around each.

Of all these things examples are to be found in England and will be described in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHANNEL PORTS—THE ROADS TO LONDON —THE WATLING STREET—LONDON

BEFORE starting on a perambulation of the leading roads of Roman Britain one or two preliminary points must be dealt with. How, in the first place, are we to know when we are dealing with a Roman road and when with one of later construction? For most of what we know on this point we have to rely on ancient documentary evidence, affording lists of the chief towns and of course incidentally of the lines of communication between them. There are five of these documents, of which only three need receive any special consideration, for the lists of Nennius and the so-called Ravenna geographer are of later origin. In the second century Ptolemy compiled a list and in the next was produced the most important of all, the Antonine "Itinerary," probably called after Caracalla. This is a road book to the entire empire and is of the first importance. The "Notitia" of the fifth century is much less comprehensive but very valuable where it does give information, as, for example, in the case of the Wall. Surely, one may argue, with all this information there cannot be any doubt or difficulty as to the topography of Roman Britain. Unfortunately, for a number of reasons there is complete confusion as to the greater number of the places whose position one would like to know, due in part to the corruption of the texts, in part to the fact that places in different districts of the country bore the same name (for example, there were no less than seven towns named Magna), in part to inaccurate measurements of distance,

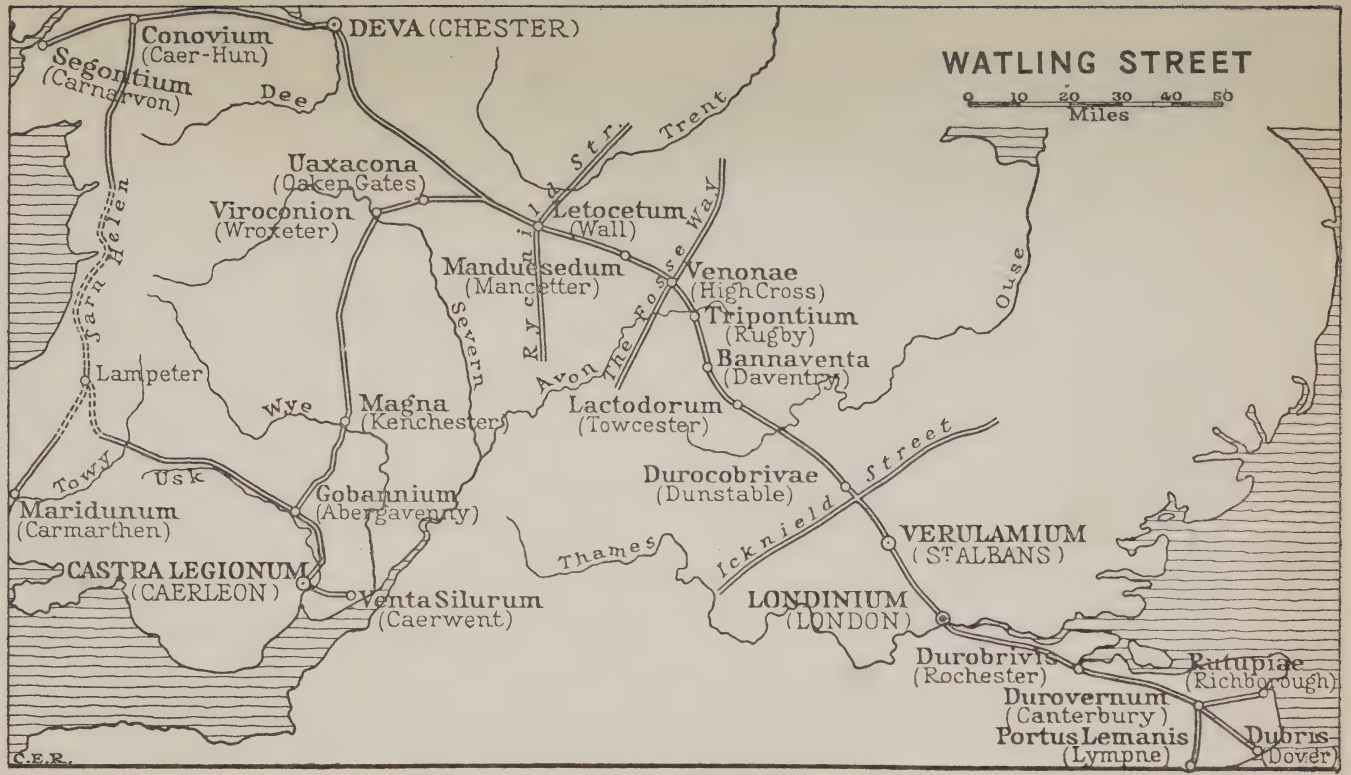
WATLING STREET
0 10 20 30 40 50
Miles
DEVA (CHESTER)
Conovium
(Caer-Hun)
Segontium
(Carnarvon)
Dee
Uaxacona
(Oaken Gates)
Viroconion
(Wroxeter)
Letocetum
(Wall)
Str
Trent
Ryknield
Manduessedum
(Mancetter)
Venonae
(High Cross)
The Fosse Way
Tripontium
(Rugby)
Bannaventa
(Daventry)
Ouse
Severn
Avon
Lampeter
Wye
Magna
(Kenchester)
Lactodorum
(Towcester)
Towy
Usk
Durocobrivae
(Dunstable)
Ickneild Street
Maridunum
(Carmarthen)
Gobannium
(Abergavenny)
VERULAMIUM
(St ALBANS)
Thames
CASTRA LEGIONUM
(CAERLEON)
Venta Silurum
(Caerwent)
LONDINIUM
(LONDON)
Durobrivis
(Rochester)
Rutupiae
(Richborough)
Durovernum
(Canterbury)
Portus Lemanis
(Lympne)
Dubris
(Dover)
C.E.R.

FIG. 19

and so on. As a result, out of the large number of places which we know to have existed there are about fifty only of which we can feel tolerably sure. Naturally these are the most important to us, and those of minor interest need only be alluded to where some point of special interest arises in connexion with any one of them.

There are certain place-names or parts of names which give great assistance in tracing out Roman sites. The occupation of Britain was of a military character, and thus a large preponderance of places began as fortresses, though of course often of a modest nature. Thus they had the name of *Castra*, or Camps, and in its various forms this is to be met with all over Britain. There is Chester—The Camp, *par excellence*—and that suffix is to be found in many places, such as Chichester and Rochester. In the north it becomes " caster," as in Lancaster and Doncaster. In the south we get the softer " cester," as in Leicester and Cirencester. By elision we have Exeter, i.e. Excester and Wroxeter, or again, " cetter," as in Mancetter. Or lastly the word may be shortened down into " caer," as in Caerleon. Besides this line of derivation there is that which connects the term " Street " (i.e. Strata) with a Roman thoroughfare. Stratford-on-Avon is the ford by which a very obscure and minor street crossed the river in question. The five Strettons under the Longmynd in Shropshire lie along the course of another minor road. Spittle-in-the-Street is a combination which tells us of a mediæval hospital situated on a Roman road. Stretton-on-the-Fosse, the Street-town on the Roman Fosseway. There are scores of examples throughout the land.

We must finally remember that whilst some of the Roman roads, such as that just alluded to, have names, and names of considerable antiquity, there is no reason whatever—rather every reason to the contrary—to suppose that these names were given by or even known to the Romans.

The WATLING STREET, with which we may commence, is an excellent example of this, for the first time that the

name is mentioned is in the Treaty of Wedmore made in 878 between Alfred and the Danes, where the street forms the boundary between the two nations. The Watlings seem to have been the Scandinavian patrons of handicraft, and, as we learn from Chaucer's "House of Fame," for example, the name of Watling Street was given to what we call "The Milky Way" in the heavens.

> The which men clepe the Milky Way
> For it is white and some parfay
> Y-callen han it Watling Street.

Watling Street in the greater part of its course may be said to run almost alongside the main line of the London and North-Western Railway to Holyhead. There are other Watling Streets—a source of some confusion; one of them, running down the Stretton Valley, where the five Strettons get their name from it, might be looked upon as a kind of prolongation of the main road from *Viroconion*. The other, which crosses the wall of Hadrian is a modern and unfortunately chosen title for the old Dere Street.

In dealing with the main street we must commence with the three tributaries which constitute it meeting at Canterbury. These start from the Channel ports of the time, the most important of which was *Rutupiæ*, the Ratesburgh of Leland's "Itinerary," the modern Richborough. There is no harbour here to-day, and the Wantsum is but a small stream, but in Roman times it was a broad branch of the sea affording excellent harbourage for ships of the tonnage of that day. At this place remains of the west gate and of the west and south walls exist, with a remarkable concrete platform carrying a cruciform piece of masonry, the purpose of which is quite unknown. Fragments of white marble tablets and pilasters testify to former buildings of some pretensions, and it cannot be doubted that the excavations now contemplated will reveal many interesting objects and clear up many doubts. *Rutupiæ* was one of the places under the *Comes Litoris Saxonici*, and for some time

Carausius seems to have made it the head-quarters of his powerful fleet. Later on this was removed to *Gesoriacum*, the modern Boulogne, where it was of course as available for sea enemies as anywhere on the south coast of England. *Portus Lemanis*, the second harbour, is even more detached from the sea, for the modern Lympne, which represents it, is severed from the Channel by the width of Romney Marsh. *Dubris*, or Dover, where there are the remains of a Pharos, parts of which are believed to be Roman, has more claim to be considered a port. Yet the real Roman port of Dover is as extinct as either of the others. The name implies a river, and the old Roman port was a river running in a narrow cleft between chalk cliffs, which has silted up. The modern harbour, which, as anyone can see, is purely constructive, has nothing to do with the older port. There is an official known as the " Warden of the Cinque Ports " whose functions for years were confined to residence, if he chose to reside there, in Walmer Castle, no great distance from the places we have been dealing with. *Stat magni nominis umbra*—in a sense he was the successor of the *Comes*, and nominally had under his charge some of the towns which very really belonged to the earlier official's jurisdiction, and Dover is one of the most important.[1] The three roads from these three ports converged and met where the river Stour had to be crossed, namely, at *Durovernum*, the modern Canterbury. From this point the road bears the name Watling Street, and more or less alongside of it is the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway. The road next reached *Durobrivis* (the stronghold at the bridges), the modern Rochester, where there was a bridge over the Medway, the piles of which were found in 1847. There was also a well-constructed causeway, as to which, as an example of thorough Roman work, a few words may be said. It was examined in 1897 and was then eight feet six inches below the level of the modern road, showing the accumulation which here, as elsewhere, has formed since

[1] The others are described in Chapter X.

Roman times. First of all, and deepest, came a series of piles, each four feet in length, and on these was laid a kind of cill of balks of timber. Then came in order from below upwards three feet six inches of flints and broken tiles, five inches of rammed chalk and seven of flint broken up fine, nine inches of small gravel and earth, and last of all a polygonal pavement six to eight inches in thickness. It was a skilfully conceived and well-executed piece of work, meant to last, and actually enduring for at least seventeen hundred years. From this point the road went straight to *Londinium*, which it entered as what we now know as the Old Kent Road, alongside of which were the usual lines of entombment. The road seems to have gone under Mayfair, and we pick it up again at Tyburn, where it becomes the Edgware Road. At this point the bedding of the road was reduced to a layer of gravel with a dwarf wall of concrete on either side. But before tracing it further something must be said about the great city through which it passed, though it will be impossible to deal with it otherwise than briefly and imperfectly; for the history of London, though studied by many experts, presents very many puzzling features which can only be mentioned though not unravelled by the present writer. Was there a pre-Roman London at all? That is the first question which presents itself, and there are two diametrically different replies by authorities of the first importance. There was no greater authority on Roman Britain than the late Professor Haverfield, and his opinion was that there was no pre-Roman city or, if there was any, it was a small and ill-developed settlement, perhaps, on the south side of the Thames. On the other hand, Pitt Rivers, whose claims to speak on a subject of this kind all will admit, examined what seems to have been an undoubted pile village at the junction of the river Fleet—then a small stream running into the greater river. It is essential to remember what the physical geography of this district was at the time we are dealing with, and we must think of this

part of the river as a lagoon fordable at the Isle of Thorney (our present Westminster), where a pavement, sarcophagus, bricks, and fragments of buildings prove that there was occupation in the Roman time; that is to say, it was fordable at Lambeth, fordable even in later days and at low tides where London Bridge now is. Such a position was just that which would have been selected by Keltic tribes for a pile village, and such Pitt Rivers, no doubt correctly, thought that it was, though he is much less likely to have been correct in supposing it to have been the *oppidum* of Caswallon. Guest in an earlier and less critical day had taken the same view that Haverfield held, and Sir Laurence Gomme, than whom few knew more about London, was on the opposite side. "At the foot of the steep rising represented by modern Ludgate Hill," he says, "the homes of the Keltic Britains have been revealed to modern Londoners. At the summit of the rising, standing out of the surrounding waters, commanding the low lands around, was constructed the fortified stronghold to which the people and their cattle and belongings could retreat when necessity arose. Necessity often arose during the centuries of their occupation of the site, which was first named London, Llyndun, the fort of the waters." There are the Keltic deities too in connexion with the city. Lud of Ludgate Hill, of whom Sir John Rhŷs said that he was a water god and that his worship probably took place where St. Paul's Cathedral now stands—a spot where there was certainly in later days a shrine of Diana. Further, he thought that the name of Belinus, another Keltic deity, was enshrined in modern Billingsgate. Reid, in his "Municipalities of the Roman Empire," points to the fact that numerous roads converged on London, all or most of which must have been pre-Roman trackways, and believes that "many traders from Italy and from Romanized parts of the Empire must have established themselves there even before the Roman conquest." Conybeare takes the same view, and says that an island in the middle of the

stream was the original *raison d'être* of London Bridge. "It was miles below any other eyot and marked the lowest place where the river could be bridged; it was the cause of London."

Thus the weight of opinion is in favour of the conclusion that there *was* a pre-Roman London, but against the view that it was the *oppidum* of Caswallon. That almost certainly was *Verulamium* near St. Albans, and London was originally its port. The port, however, very soon outdid its capital, for in A.D. 61 Tacitus says that it was an *oppidum*, "not dignified with the name of colony, but celebrated for the gathering of dealers and commodities." Whatever may have been the case as to its early history, London rose to the first position as a commercial city quite early in the Roman period, during the first century in fact, thrusting both *Verulamium* and *Camulodunum* into secondary positions.

That leads to the second difficult question: Why was London left an undistinguished city? As we shall see later, there were several types of cities under local self-government, notably *Colonia* and *Municipia*. Since the first of these was an arrangement of military nature and designed to hold conquered territory for the empire by the establishment of time-expired soldiers in provincial towns, there is good reason why London never attained to this rank. But it might have been made a *Municipium*, and thus attained a status, given, especially in the early empire, to native provincial towns which had Romanized themselves without much aid from the Romans, and had thus earned a certain recognition. *Verulamium* was the only example of this kind of town in Britain, and, as Haverfield thought, perhaps gained this distinction because it was already fairly well Romanized before the conquest. London was never a *Municipium*, nor is there any evidence that it was even cantonal like, for example, Caerwent. Ammianus, a fourth century historian, says that, in the last days of the occupation, the city received the title of *Augusta*, i.e.

Royal—like *Augusta Trevirorum*, or in modern times Royal Leamington Spa—it was made a royal city. If the title ever really was conferred it did not stick, for this is the only mention of it.

Perhaps a rather lengthy extract from Codrington's book may be permitted as it gives a good view of what this Roman *Londinium* was[1]:

" The earlier Roman London appears to have extended eastward from Lambeth Hill and Old Change (a little to the east of St. Paul's) to Miles Lane, Clement's Lane, and Birchin Lane (a little to the west of King William Street); and from Cheapside and Poultry to Thames Street. The area thus enclosed was a rectangle about 800 yards by 400 yards or perhaps rather less. The present Watling Street runs through the western half of it, and if, as Sir Christopher Wren supposed, it represents the Pretorian Way of the camp, it is suggestive of an earlier camp through the middle of which it would have run, extending southwards only as far as the brow of the slope to the river, marked by the line of Knightrider Street, Great St. Thomas Apostle, and Cloak Lane; and eastwards perhaps to Wallbrook. This would enclose an area about 240 yards by 530 yards. From the west gate the Roman road must have turned towards the north to cross the Fleet. On the south side of Cheapside, Wren sunk 18 feet through made ground and then came upon a Roman causeway of rough stone firmly cemented, with brick and rubbish at the bottom, and four feet thick, on which he founded Bow Church steeple. For various reasons he thought that the causeway ran along the north boundary of the older London, and his conclusion has been confirmed by its discovery in 1765, at the middle of Birchin Lane. Outside the eastern wall, where it crossed Eastcheap (where the statue of William IV now stands), a raised causeway of gravel seven feet six inches in depth,

[1] " Roman Roads in Britain," by Thomas Codrington, S.P.C.K., gives a minute account of all the roads, to which readers may be referred.

and 16 feet wide, supported by walls of ragstone with layers of Roman tiles, was displayed in 1831. It pointed to the north-east in the direction of Aldgate, and many cinerary urns on either side showed it to have been outside the station. The Roman bridge over the Thames, on the site of Old London bridge was also outside the earlier boundary."

In its palmy days as a city of the empire *Londinium* was much the largest of the towns of the province, being five miles in circuit and containing 325 acres; but practically all of it is underground and, judging from the depth at which the Leadenhall and other pavements have been found, about twenty-one feet underground. There is a portion of the wall at the Old Bailey: in Newgate it was eight feet six inches thick and the plinths of the gate were discovered by excavation; there is a portion at Jewry Street, there are a couple of baths, and of course there are myriads of small objects which have turned up from time to time, many of which are to be seen in the London collections, ranging from lamps and fragments of pottery to statues such as that of a river god, perhaps the Thames, and a Genius. Still, on the whole, the finds in London have been small in comparison with other places, and for the reason given, namely, that it is buried under huge buildings and much intervening soil. What became of *Londinium*? Two diametrically opposite conclusions on this point have been arrived at, and both of them by undoubted authorities on the subject—another example of the extreme difficulty that there is in arriving at certainty on these questions, and the possibility that one's most cherished views may be blown to the winds by some new discovery any day. According to Haverfield, the city became a "waste chester," and so remained for many years.

On the other hand, according to Sir L. Gomme, after the legions departed and London ceased to be a Roman city, in fact, however she may have remained so in effect, her existence continued as a kind of petty self-contained State,

and thus, more or less on the Roman lines to which she had become accustomed, the city lived on and kept the Danes at bay. In fact, through her preservation of the old Roman system she kept up an existence which is continuous and links on to that of the present day. In support of this idea he asks us to note two significant facts which are certainly of a striking character. In the first place, the Norman fortress—that is, the Tower of London as we now call it—is not in London at all, but just outside it, near enough to dominate it but not part of its organization. And secondly, the sovereign is not crowned in London, but outside its limits in Westminster, and after he is crowned he visits the capital of his kingdom and asks permission to enter it. "In these two connected ceremonies," says Sir Laurence Gomme, "we have the last remnants of the ancient constitutional position of London—the monarch elected in English fashion outside the city and then admitted within the city in London fashion. The quasi-independence of London could not be better illustrated. It comes from her Roman past. It shows that it was the same system of government passing on from Roman to Norman times, not a different system altogether. It dominates her present conception of necessary aloofness from the developed London which surrounds her. It is a factor in modern politics."

It is probable that more authorities to-day would agree with this point of view than with the former, and we may therefore think of London as a city of vast antiquity, commencing as a pile village, developing into the port of an inland capital, becoming the chief mart of the land, carrying on its independent life for centuries after the Romans had left—but still on the lines learnt from them, and finally becoming what she now is, the greatest city the world has ever known.

CHAPTER VII

THE WATLING STREET (*continued*)—VERULAMIUM —DEVA—VIROCONION

THE next place of importance on the Watling Street was *Verulamium*, near by the modern St. Albans, a *Municipium*, as we have seen in the last chapter, and previously in all probability the *oppidum* of Caswallon, and, so far as we can speak of such a thing, the capital at least of Southern Britain. From its mint came the earliest British coins with which we are acquainted. The rise of London led to the decline of *Verulamium* and of *Camulodunum*, but though it had to take a secondary place it remained a town of wealthy officials and merchants, though not of soldiers. The river Ver, from which its name was derived, was and is but a small stream, though no doubt it was originally responsible in a measure for the choice of the site. The plan of the city was irregularly oval, as in other cases where the town was developed from a pre-existent Keltic stronghold, and it covered an area of about 200 acres, its walls being two miles in circumference. It had the usual four gates and was constructed on the chess-board pattern already described. The forum, which was 373 feet in length was the largest, so far as we know, of such edifices in Britain, and its surrounding buildings were offices and temples and not shops as at *Calleva*. The wealth of the place is illustrated by the fact that it possessed a theatre for stage plays built on the usual Roman plan. The stage was forty-six feet in breadth by eight feet nine inches in depth. The orchestra and seats formed a large segment of a circle. There was a postscenium and there were

dressing-rooms, three entrances, and a gallery. Along the roads, and particularly along the Watling Street, were the usual burial places.

There has always been some dispute as to the truth of the story of St. Alban, commonly looked upon as England's protomartyr, some denying that any such person ever existed. It seems tolerably certain that the main outlines of the story are accurate, though the date of the martyrdom is, and seems likely to remain, very doubtful. Various dates from 208 to 305 have been assigned, but perhaps the most likely is 303. He is first heard of in the history of St. Germanus of Auxerre, who visited *Verulamium* in 428 to venerate the relics and see the scene of the martyrdom of St. Alban, and the fact that he did so seems to settle the fact as to the existence of St. Alban and his martyrdom. St. Germanus took back some of the dust from the site of the martyrdom to his cathedral in France.

During the uprising under Boudicca, *Verulamium* was nearly destroyed, but prior to that it was a small and unimportant place in comparison with what it became after it was rebuilt, and as it has been described above. After the departure of the legions it seems to have been inhabited for some time, and to have come to an end more as a result of neglect than of actual sack by enemies. Part of the walls and earthworks are still to be seen, and many pieces of Roman masonry and tiles are visible in the great abbey which after ages built in honour of the martyred soldier, whose name is bound up with that of the town which grew up around the Benedictine foundation.

Beyond *Verulamium* the street passes through *Durocobrivæ*, or Dunstable, where the Icknield Street crosses it, and *Lactodorum*, or Towcester, where three sides of the earthworks are traceable.

Near Daventry was a place called *Bannaventa*, as to which a point of interest arises. As everybody knows, St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, was not himself an Irishman but a Briton, though from what part of the

FIG. 20.—ROMAN WALL AT ST. ALBANS

island is still a matter of doubt. He tells us that he was the son of a *decurio*, that is, an official of a minor town, named Calpurnius, pretty obviously a Romanized Briton, and that he was born at a place called Bannaventabernæ, not far from " our " that is the Irish Sea. The only place with a name at all resembling Bannaventabernæ known to us is this *Bannaventa*, at which we have now arrived, and that is about as far from " our," or indeed any sea, as any place in England can well be ; so that we may put that out of question. Some have thought that the true birth-place was at Dumbarton on the Clyde ; others have gone as far afield as Therouanne (*Tarb-Abhn*, i.e. the river of the bull) in France. Perhaps the best suggestion is that the place was Bun-an-Tabern,[1] i.e. the mouth of the Severn. This Bristol Channel of to-day was infested by Irish pirates during the Roman and neighbouring epochs, and it is just the spot from which the youthful Patricius might have been swept off to be a slave to some Irish master. At any rate, we may feel sure that it was not from near modern Daventry that he came.

The street passed *Tripontium* on the Avon at or near Rugby, and at a place called Cave's Inn in that district plenty of bits of Roman pottery and tiles may be picked up to-day indicating a Roman site, perhaps that in question. At any rate, further on where the Watling and Fosse Roads cross we reach the site of *Venonæ* or High Cross, on the summit of what is fairly high ground in that district. It is a lonely spot to-day as one looks up and down the long, straight roads, but there is nothing left to speak of Roman days except the two streets. There is little more at the next place *Manduesedum*, or Mancetter, a small place, now represented by four banks forming a square through which runs the street, here the boundary between Warwickshire on the west and Leicestershire on the east. Then the street bends towards the west and reaches *Letocetum*, or

[1] Tabern, Habern, Sabern—more or less interchangeable forms of the river we know as Severn, the " Sabrina " of Milton.

Etocetum, the modern Wall, where it crosses the Ryknild Street described in a previous chapter. Wall in Roman days must have been a small place, as indeed it is to-day, yet it presents us with an excellent example of a house with a complete set of baths, an illustration of the cleanly habits of the Romans and Romanized inhabitants, even in out-of-the-way districts and in small places. In this group of buildings there was an enclosed but uncovered open space, the *palæstra* or exercise ground. Then came the *apodyterium* or dressing-room. There were larger and smaller baths, and the former had a heating chamber with hot, tepid, and cold rooms, a cold water and a shower bath —a very complete establishment in fact and very perfect, even to the lead piping. The courtyard of the house is exceptionally small, and even suggests an Italian type of dwelling.

Beyond Wall the road forks, and we will follow that to the right, which leads us to *Deva*, the modern Chester, the best example in Britain of a purely military fortress, with its fellow guarding South Wales as this did north—Caerleon-on-Usk. After the conquest of the country a large body of troops was despatched to the north-west and made their way to *Viroconion*, where, however, they did not, so it would seem, make any prolonged stay. Haverfield thinks that they may have reached the site of *Deva* by the year 50. However that may be, it seems clear that the city was founded by Agricola, whose name has been found on lead pipes in Chester. This is the only record of his governorship of Britain outside the writings of his son-in-law Tacitus, whom he has to thank for his immortality. As Bishop Creighton pointed out, this was THE Castrum *par excellence*, and it was built on a bluff of old red sandstone overhanging the river Dee. That is a statement a little difficult to be understood by those who visit the spot to-day, until they learn that the broad meadow, now a racecourse, called the "Roodeye," was then an expanse of water—in fact, the harbour of *Deva* from which the pigs of lead got from the

Welsh and Salopian mines were shipped. For long years after the Roman occupation it remained a harbour, and it was from here that Lycidas sailed to his watery grave. Here, too, Swift and many another worthy spent weary hours waiting for the Dublin packet to sail. The Dee was unkinder to Chester than the Mersey was to Liverpool. The Sands of Dee (known to all through Mary and the cattle she was to call home) have accumulated to such an extent as to form the Roodeye and render the river practically useless for shipping. But it was not always so, and when Agricola built his fortress it looked right down on the waters of a broad reach of river. " Deva was from first to last a fortress, always garrisoned by troops, always devoid of organized civil life and municipal institutions, but differing from some of the fortresses by the fact that its garrison consisted of legionary and not of auxiliary troops," says Haverfield, who adds the statement that " Chester and Caerleon are characteristic of a distant borderland." Wales never was fully subjugated, and these two legionary fortresses held the northern and southern limits, and no doubt from them came the garrisons which held the numerous blockhouses and small forts policing the wild and mountainous recesses of Cambrian Britain. Neither of these places ever arrived at even the intermediate stage between purely military existence and a certain civic status, which would enable the inhabitants to be spoken of as *cives Romani consistentes—Deva,* let us say. No doubt there must have been a bazaar or Kanaba outside, but we have no knowledge of it.

Roman *Deva,* like other towns, is largely underground, and one of the best instances of this will be found in what was, and perhaps still is, a toyshop, where one may descend from a very ordinary store of this kind to a cellar where Noah's arks and such-like things lie amongst the huge pillars, some of them prostrate, some erect, of a great Roman temple or other building. But the most important thing which is left is the wall, though part of that is of

much later date and all of it has been repaired from time to time. Still the ambit is the same and the fosse outside, in which the canal lies, is Roman work. A curious piece of what might be called vandalism has preserved for these later years a large number of exceedingly interesting and instructive Roman tombstones, for at some period, when the wall required reconstruction, the Roman builders, according to their habit, built an outer and an inner face, with the intention of filling in the interval with rubble of some kind. To save themselves trouble they raided a neighbouring graveyard and filled up the space between their two walls with the tombstones of dead legionaries. In later years, when this wall came again to be repaired, the tombstones were discovered and carefully removed to that most admirable collection of objects of all kinds, the Chester Museum, where they can be studied as carefully as they deserve. This example of vandalism is not the only one of the kind, for tombstones were actually used as flooring material at *Æsica*, otherwise Great Chesters, on the wall. We may be thankful to the Romans who preserved these stones for us as we are to the monks of Hexham who preserved a number of others by using them, turned with their uninscribed surfaces upwards fortunately, as the pavement of their church and the roof of the chambers which underlie it. Of these monuments more will be said in another chapter and of the numerous altars also found in and about Chester. Mention may however be made of three of these last to show the cosmopolitan character of the inhabitants who dwelt in this city for perhaps 350 years, and who must have contributed many an odd strain to the population of the district. The first of these altars is dedicated to the *Deæ Matres*, the Mother Goddesses worshipped on the Rhine. This is an object we should look for since the Twentieth Legion, *Valeria Victrix*, whose badge, the galloping boar, figures so largely in Chester, was recruited from the district just mentioned. The second is dedicated by two men from Samosata on the banks of the

Euphrates, whilst the third was erected by a Greek and bears the inscription " To the gods that are strong to save, I Hermogenes, a Physician, set this altar."

There is a Roman quay on the Roodeye and near it a mass of wall. The pillars of a hypocaust have been removed from their original site and set up in a garden under but outside the wall. There is a Roman bath in Bridge Street. But most of the glory of *Deva* is gone. Yet even in the twelfth century it must have been a wonderful spot. Archdeacon Gerald de Barry, commonly known as " Giraldus Cambrensis," though a most agreeable gossip, is not always a wholly reliable authority, yet he was probably not exaggerating when in his " Itinerary of Wales," he wrote the account of Chester now to be quoted : " It is a genuine city of the Legions surrounded by walls of brick or tiles in which many remains of pristine grandeur are still apparent, namely, immense palaces, a gigantic tower, beautiful baths, remains of temples, and sites of theatres almost entirely surrounded by excellent walls in part remaining ; also both without and within the circumference of the walls subterranean constructions, watercourses, vaults with passages. You may also see furnaces constructed with wonderful art, the narrow sides of which exhale heat by concealed spiracles." Various touches like the last, which clearly refers to heating by hypocausts, prove conclusively that Giraldus did really see many and perhaps all of the things which he sets down. One would give a good deal to have an opportunity of seeing them, and especially the " gigantic tower " of which he speaks.

From *Deva* the continuation of Watling Street leads to the Conway River. This point is the key to North Wales, as Edward the Second recognized in after days when he built his walled city and castle on the western side of the tidal river. The Romans did not miss the point either, and they built their fort of *Conovium*, or Caer-hun as it is now called, a little further up the river and not far from the modern Tal-y-cafn. This is close to a very ancient

highway which makes for Penmaenmawr by way of Bwlch-y-ddeufaen. Not far from this Codrington states that a milestone was found with an inscription to Hadrian and an indication that it marked the eighth mile *a Kanovio*. This was a fort of masonry, a good deal of which can be seen to-day.

Beyond this a road led to *Segontium* (Caer Seoint, near Carnarvon), which it has been suggested was so named from a god of Victory named Segontios. Nennius the historian is responsible for the statement that the Emperor Constantius Chlorus, who, as we have seen, died at York, was buried at *Segontium*. It is hardly likely to have been at this very out-of-the-way spot any more than at Strabo's Segontia, which seems to have been at Siguenza in Spain. Some have thought that it was at Bangor, others at Silchester, but a tenth century MS. tells us that he was buried at York, and, if buried in England at all, as he died at York it is probable that at York he was also buried. If such be the case the claim for notoriety for this *Segontium* disappears. From *Conovium* there ran another road which crossed the valley of the Llugwy between the Rhaiadyr-y-Wennol and Bettws-y-Coed; passed the walled fort now called Tomen-y-mûr, 300 by 200 yards in size, and eventually reached *Maridunum*, if that was the name of the modern Carmarthen. This road is known as "Sarn Helen" and a branch from it near the modern Lampeter passed *Gobannium* on its way to *Castra Legionum*.

If we now return to *Letocetum* and take the left hand fork of the road we shall find ourselves following that part of the Watling Street which leads into Shropshire. Passing *Uxacona*, whose name to-day seems to be perpetuated by corruption into Oakengates, it reaches what was a very important city, *Viroconion*, or *Uriconium*, to give a variant form of the former name of the place, which is to-day represented by the little village of Wroxeter. It covered about 173 acres with walls three miles in extent, is a rough oval in outline, and is situated where the little stream of

the Tern runs into the Severn at the lowest fordable point of that river. Near it rises the far-famed Wrekin, visible for miles around, and it seems possible that some common root, such, for example, as *vri*, may enter into the names of both these places, the hill and the city. It seems first of all to have been a military station and to have been occupied by the Fourteenth Legion, the celebrated *Victores Britannici*, but the soldiers were moved on to *Deva*, and their former habitation became a purely civilian town of considerable size and, though the earliest houses have been revealed by excavation to have been only wattle and daub constructions, in its later days of considerable wealth. As it has been but little built over, the excavations, which have been going on for some years but are still incomplete, are bound to afford valuable information, as in the case of Silchester. So far the coins found show that subsequent to a late first century occupation its period of greatest activity was from the middle of the third to the end of the fourth century. Coins of Theodosius have been also found, which reveal a civic existence to the end of that century. That it was destroyed by fire seems certain from what has been discovered. Amongst other things there were found in the remains of a hypocaust, or heating chamber, under a floor, the skeletons of three persons, one of them an old man and another a woman, with a heap of one hundred and thirty-two coins and some nails, we may assume those which held together the box in which the coins were deposited. Probably these victims of a catastrophe had hidden themselves and their little store of money hoping to escape when the tyranny was over, but were unable to do so and perished together beside their goods. A story, the accuracy of which seems now to be challenged, tells us that the place was stormed and burnt by the West Saxons, and what are claimed to be the verses of a British poet, Llywarch Hên, give us the death-song of *Viroconion*, " the white town in the valley," lying no doubt among the green woods clothing the country from the lower slopes of the Wrekin. The

poet describes how he wandered through the halls " without fire, without life, without song," their stillness broken only by the cry of the eagle, which, he says, " has swallowed fresh drink, heart's blood of Kyndylan the Fair," whom we may suppose to have been the Keltic chieftain who ruled over the town, and perhaps district, after the departure of the legions. There has always been a considerable amount to see at Wroxeter apart from the numerous objects found there, which are exhibited in the museum at Shrewsbury, a few miles distant. Above all things there is a great piece of wall, once part of the basilica, and near to this there is a hypocaust with the pillars *in situ*. The pillars leading into the churchyard are of Roman date, and the font is the capital of a Roman pillar hollowed out for the purpose. Even a superficial examination of the walls of the church on the exterior will reveal the fact that it is in large part, and probably entirely, built out of the stones of the Roman town. More than this, it became a quarry for the country round, and in the ruins of the great monasteries around the Wrekin can be found stones as to the Roman origin of which one can feel no doubt, and little that they came from this place.

From *Viroconion* the Watling Street mentioned on an earlier page as a second example of the name passes south through Shropshire, where it traverses the Stretton Valley, but is not the road by which one travels through that very beautiful region. The old road lies to the east of the present one, and is easily traceable at Church Stretton, for example, where it runs just under Caer Caradoc, the legendary site of the battle between Ostorius Scapula and Caratâcos. This road makes its way to *Magna*, the modern Kenchester, which is not far from Hereford, itself never a Roman station. The Roman station of *Magna* is hexagonal, unwalled, and unbuilt over. It covers twenty acres. Houses with hypocausts and tessellated pavements (now in the Hereford Museum) have been found there, also wall-paintings. The place dates back to the first century,

but its period of maximum intensity seems to have been from the middle of the third to the middle of the fourth centuries.

Then the road continues to *Gobannium*, the modern Abergavenny, in the name of which the Roman title with "mortified" b will be recognized. Eventually it arrives at Caerleon-on-Usk. This road must have been a very important line of communication between *Deva* and the various minor fortifications intervening between it and *Castra Legionum* in the south. A large part of the Watling Street is still highway, and much of it is the Holyhead Road, which is one of Telford's chief works. Let it be noted that until we reach *Deva* on this road there is no such thing as a military station, eloquent testimony to the tranquillity of the regions through which it passed.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ERMING STREET—EBURACUM—LINDUM COLONIA

THE Great North Road, celebrated for the doings of Dick Turpin and one of the great coaching roads of former days, is a reality and known to thousands of motorists and cyclists. The Great Northern Railway is also a reality known to as many travellers. But the Erming Street is not quite as definite an object nor by any means as easily traceable as the street which formed the subject of the previous chapter. Haverfield thought that nothing more could be made out than certain rather indefinite ways, all trending north. It is quite clear that there must have been a highway, or more than one highway, between what was the mercantile capital at London and what was, for a time at least, the military capital at York, even if we leave out of consideration Lincoln and other places of secondary importance, though the absence of any description in the "Itinerary" shows that any direct road must have been of late construction. It has been customary to speak of this highway as "Erming Street," a name of Saxon origin derived from that of the Teutonic war-god. A sketch of these rather indefinite tracks must now be attempted, and the first which we pick up seems to be Kingsland Road, by which the street left London, with burials at Spitalfields marking its nearest approach to the city proper. Thence the street passes to Braughing, where there are remains of a Roman camp, and here it is crossed by the Stane Street, which is on its way from *Camulodunum*, or Colchester, to London. Further on it is crossed by the Icknield Street,

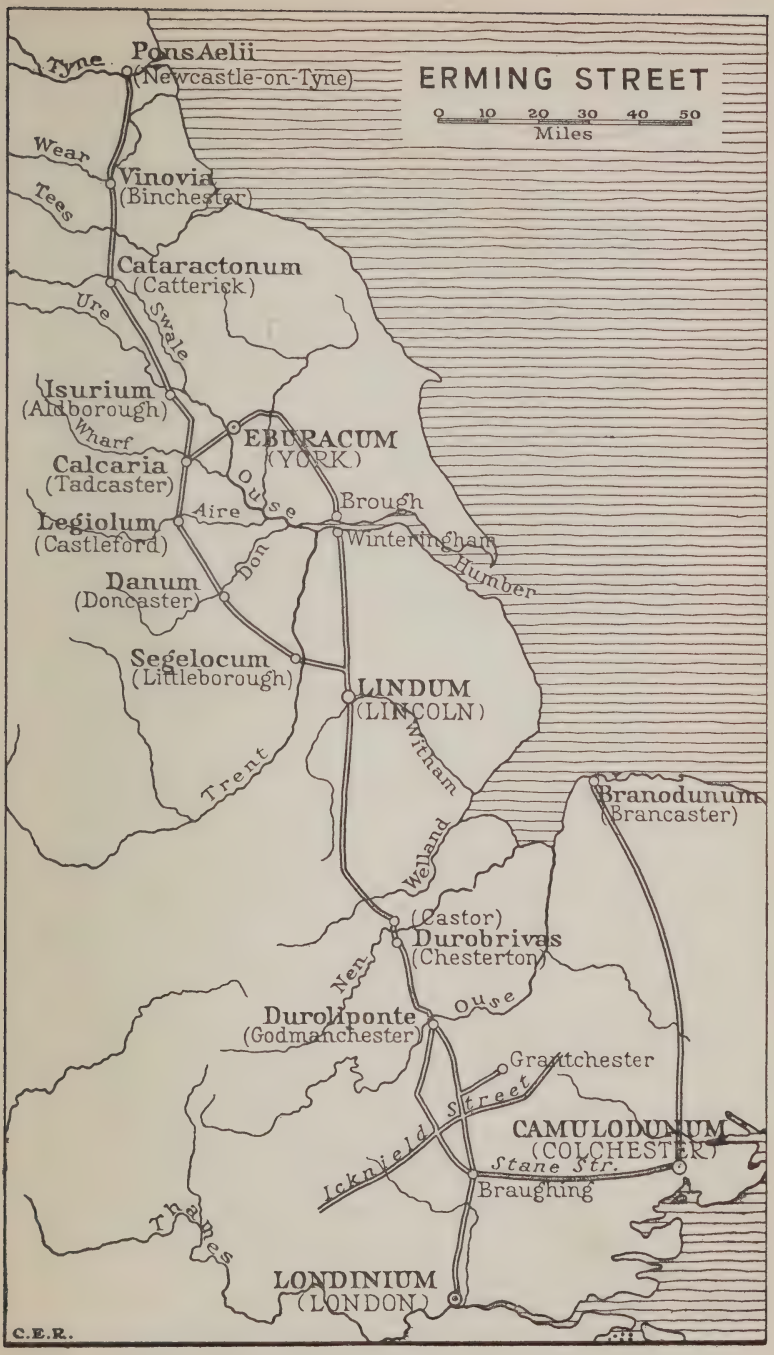
ERMING STREET
0 10 20 30 40 50
Miles
Tyne
Pons Aelii
(Newcastle-on-Tyne)
Wear
Vinovia
(Binchester)
Tees
Cataractonum
(Catterick)
Ure
Swale
Isurium
(Aldborough)
Wharf
EBURACUM
(YORK)
Calcaria
(Tadcaster)
Ouse
Brough
Aire
Legiolum
(Castleford)
Winteringham
Don
Humber
Danum
(Doncaster)
Segelocum
(Littleborough)
LINDUM
(LINCOLN)
Witham
Trent
Branodunum
(Brancaster)
Welland
(Castor)
Durobrivas
(Chesterton)
Nen
Ouse
Duroliponte
(Godmanchester)
Grantchester
Ickn
ield
Street
CAMULODUNUM
(COLCHESTER)
Stane Str.
Braughing
Thames
LONDINIUM
(LONDON)
C.E.R.

FIG. 21

but there is no trace of any station at this intersection. Still further, a road from the east debouches into it coming from Grantchester and Cambridge. Then we reach the Ouse and *Duroliponte*, or Godmanchester, the *pons* or *lipons* over the river, according to Rhŷs.

The Nen is the next stream, and here we come to a place of real importance—two places, in fact, for there were pottery stations on both sides of the river at *Durobrivæ*, Castor and Chesterton, and no less than twenty square miles of them. As we shall see in a later chapter there was much manufacture of pottery in Britain during the Roman period, but none of them approached this in importance. Here the pottery " en barbotine " and another kind with a high black glaze were made. There was a bridge here of wooden balks placed on stone pillars, comparatively recently removed when the river was made navigable. A milliary dating from A.D. 276 makes the distance from this place to *Lindum* fifty or perhaps fifty-one miles.

Lindum, or Lincoln, is situated on the river Witham, and is obviously the place which anyone would select as a military position, as, indeed, the earlier inhabitants before the Romans had done. A steep hill in the middle of flat country and visible, as I have often seen it, sixteen miles off, crowned by the cathedral, which Remigius began within the Roman wall when he moved his episcopal chair from Dorchester, Oxon (dioceses were of huge size in those days) ; the original rectangular Roman fortress was 407 yards from north to south and 480 east and west, and on the very top of the hill, extending from the Newport gate to the brow of the steep hill, and surrounding the ground which the cathedral and the castle cover. Later on there was added another rectangle extending to the Stone Bow. The Newport gate is where the Fosse and Erming Streets, which have coalesced before reaching the city, enter Lincoln. It is the best example of a gateway of the Roman time in Britain, but is imperfect, having lost one of its two lateral entrances, for it resembled the Herculaneum gate at Pompeii

FIG. 22.—THE "NEWPORT ARCH" (ROMAN NORTH GATE), LINCOLN

in having had three entrances. The present condition of the roadway shows how much the levels have altered since Roman times, and the earlier city is in fact six to seven feet below its modern successor.

Lindum was at first a military station though perhaps for no very long time, for the troops, consisting of the ill-fated Ninth Legion, were moved on to *Eburacum* as soon as circumstances permitted, and thus ended the military status of the town. It, however, became a *Colonia* somewhere between the years 70 and 90, and that fact appears to be embedded in its present title—*Lindum Colonia*, Lincoln.

From *Lindum* the road goes due north until it reaches the Humber, and here on the margin of the river, where there was a ferry, there was a Roman station, for one was ploughed up at Winteringham in 1716 and many objects were then discovered, but what its name was is not known. On the other side of the Humber at Brough there are the remains of a camp, also no doubt associated with the ferry, but here again the name is completely lost. Thence a road leads to York but no doubt the ferry was a nuisance and perhaps even at times dangerous, and so another and more circuitous road to York seems to have been employed. This road branched off from *Lindum* to *Segelocum*, now Littleborough, on the Trent, and a milliary now in Lincoln Cathedral cloisters was read by the late Bishop Wordsworth to indicate that it was fourteen miles to *Segelocum* from the place where it was set up. At *Segelocum* was a paved ford of Roman construction over the Trent. It was supported by piles of oak from ten to twenty feet in length and was almost intact towards the middle of the eighteenth century, when it was destroyed to make the river navigable. Thence this road passes successively through *Danum* or Doncaster, on the Don, perhaps once the Dano, where there are no remaining evidences of Roman times ; *Legiolum*, or Castleford, on the river Aire and *Calcaria*, or Tadcaster, on the Wharfe. Both these places carry their Roman pedigree in their names, but need not detain us on our way to York.

Eburacum is so called in the Antonine "Itinerary," and the name survives in the "Ebor" of the present Archbishops' title. *Urbs Ebrauc* in the "Annales Cambriae"; *Eoforwic* (the Boar's House) of Saxon times; thus the York (by elision) of to-day. No place in Roman Britain deserves more study or will more fully repay it.

Any person visiting the modern city will at once be struck with the fact that it is divided into two very dissimilar portions by the river Ouse. As one leaves the railway station one enters a district which, except for the station itself and the hotel which is connected with it, has nothing to attract any attention. Then one comes to and crosses the river and at once enters a place full of interest from the objects of archæological value which it contains. There is of course the Minster with its wonderful glass; there are the ruins of St. Mary's Abbey; there are the ancient gateways; there are other things to attract one's attention. And from our point of view there are the Roman remains which have briefly to be dealt with. This modern division into two parts represents a similar division in Roman times. The city on the eastern or left bank of the river within which lies the cathedral is the ancient legionary fortress, older than the mercantile city on the western bank, which we may think of as containing the railway station.

The legionary city—the third and most important of the kind in the island—was set up after the Ninth Legion had left *Lindum* as its head-quarters, and, after the second disaster to that unfortunate legion and its disbandment by Hadrian, the Sixth Legion took its place as the garrison of the city. As far as Britain had a capital this may be said to have been that place, for it certainly was the military head-quarters and, more than that, for a time the naval head-quarters also. A brief consideration of the political situation will explain this matter. As far as the south and south-east and west of the island were concerned the Romans had little to trouble themselves about. The

country, except the extremity of Cornwall, was pretty thoroughly Romanized, and there was no fear of any incursion from across the channel since all Gaul was under the empire. Wales was turbulent at times no doubt, but the forces at the two border fortresses were well able to keep it in check.

Irish marauders might and did make forays in the north-west and in regions like that of the Bristol Channel, but their invasions were brief and consisted of mere dashes for plunder in the shape of slaves, like St. Patrick, or other portable property. They were annoying to the inhabitants but no real menace to the Roman rule. In the north the conditions were otherwise. In the first place, there were the unsubdued tribes to the north of the wall, kept no doubt in check by the garrisons along that line of fortification, but always requiring careful watching. And in the next place there were the very warlike tribes of that district which lay south of the wall—tribes which never to the very end were thoroughly Romanized, as one can clearly see from the very scanty relics of peaceful occupation which lie north of York. Of these tribes the Brigantes were the largest, the most powerful, and the most dangerous, and it was in an uprising of theirs that the Ninth Legion was finally wiped out. So much for the land situation ; that on sea exactly reproduces the situation which England found herself in prior to the Great War. Then, as in the Roman time, the danger to be apprehended was to come from the low islands and numerous sandbanks which fringe the western coasts of the North Sea. It was to guard against the northern pirates that the office of *Comes Litoris Saxonici* was constituted and that he was given a chain of fortresses along the coast to protect the interior and a fleet of galleys, which seems for a time to have been centred on *Eburacum*. They were light of draught, comparatively speaking, and no doubt the Ouse was deeper then than now and served for their harbourage. Of the city with which we have been dealing the chief remains are a part of the

wall with the so-called Multangular Tower, a very striking object, the lower stages of which are Roman, the upper of later or Edwardian date. There is also a gateway.

Of course by far the most important objects belonging to the Roman period are those contained in the museum, some of which will come under description in later chapters. We must now turn to the other city for a short time. In all probability this grew from a Kanaba, or bazaar, but in time it became very important and was constituted a *Colonia*—some even think a *Municipium*—under Marcus Aurelius. The railway station indicates tolerably clearly its position, which has been made evident by the pavements which have from time to time been unearthed here. There must have been a council and a *territorium* (see Chap. XVI), but the area is quite uncertain. There seems also to have been a special cult of Cæsar—a very natural thing in the light of the history of the city—for we get the memorial of a *Sevir Augustalis*, which is sufficient evidence of the fact. Just as there were *Sodales Augustales* set up by Tiberius as a kind of Order of Merit for noble citizens of Rome, so the minor class of *Severi Augustales* was established as a lesser Order for wealthy citizens, for persons of the middle class, and for freedmen, and existed in all parts of the empire. The novel, if such it may be called, of Petronius Arbiter deals with a wealthy parvenu named Trimalchio, whose boast it was to belong to this body. Sir John Rhŷs thought that it was their duty to take charge of the *Lares Augustales*, or domestic divinities of the emperor. At any rate there was one of these—probably at various times there were a number of them—at *Eburacum*.

Since *Eburacum* was a place of such importance it was distinguished by the visits of four of the emperors, as to which something must now be said. Hadrian was the first to visit the city in 120, though not of course the first to visit the island. His presence was due to the rising of the Brigantes when the Ninth Legion was destroyed, and after that event he placed the Sixth in the legionary city. Further,

FIG. 23.—THE MULTANGULAR TOWER AT YORK. THE LOWER PORTION IS ROMAN WORK

he built the wall to be the limit of the empire. It was this emperor also who made *Eburacum* the naval head-quarters and brought the fleet, which had previously been harboured elsewhere, to the waters of the Ouse.

It was nearly one hundred years before another emperor in the person of Severus was, in 211, a visitor to the city. Severus was the only emperor who was an African, having been born at *Leptis Magna*, and he was obsessed by a belief in astrology, so much so that, following his horoscope, he married a Syrian woman (an infamous person she turned out to be) named Julia Domna, who had a son named Geta. He himself had also a son named Caracalla, thus stepson to Julia Domna. Severus was at *Eburacum* to complete Hadrian's work, the wall, which he put into thorough repair ; and having decided to return to Rome he was, according to a picturesque tale, met at the gates of the city of *Eburacum* by a negro soldier with a cypress crown, who addressed him in these words : " *Totum vicisti, totum fuisti, nunc Deus esto victor !* " To translate literally is easy enough : " All things thou hast won, all thou hast been, now God be the conqueror." Conybeare remarks that this might signify, " Now let God be your conqueror " or " Now, thou conqueror be God," i.e. die ; for a Roman emperor was deified at his decease. Whether he was poisoned by Caracalla or not, he died in this city. According to the legend his body was burnt on Severus Hill, a little distance from the town, but probably it was sent to Rome for burial. Caracalla returned to Rome, and having murdered his half-brother in the arms of his mother, married that mother—his father's widow, though not his own mother. He automatically ascended to the position of emperor, having been nominally joined with his father in that office. Caracalla had his half-brother's name erased from all possible inscriptions, and an instance amongst many can be seen at Hexham. It is said that even the Caledonians, who we are told had their wives in common, though that is an improbable statement, were horrified at these shocking doings, but Julia was a

powerful dame in her time and the subject of much adulation, as would appear from a poem quoted by Conybeare and found inscribed on a stone at Carvoran (the *Magna* of the wall), which commences :

> Imminet Leoni Virgo Caelesti situ
> Spicifera, justi inventrix, urbium conditrix,

a piece of praise of Julia as the virgin of the Zodiac and as Ceres, as which goddess, by the way, she figures upon coins of the period. " Syria," the poem proceeds, " sent this constellation shining in her sky, forth for Libya's worship." The end explains the whole poem : " Thus hath come to understanding, by thy godhead led, Marcus Caecilius Donatianus serving now as Tribune Prefect by the Prince's grace."

Yet another century and a third emperor was in Britain, though not for the first time, for Constantius Chlorus had been on service before, as has been mentioned in a previous chapter. The story goes that his son Constantine, afterwards known as " The Great," was born at *Eburacum*, but that we have seen is a mistake. But it was at this city that Constantius died in 306, and in it also that the soldiers acclaimed his son as emperor. After this event Constantine left the city and the island, and never again revisited it. Amongst the great cities of the Roman Empire *Eburacum* takes a high place as a scene of historic events.

North of York, and not far from Harrogate, are the remains of *Isurium*, the modern Aldborough, which seems to have been the most northerly place in which ordinary domestic country life, of the kind common in the more southern parts of the island, was led ; for beyond this was only the wall and the places dependent on it. *Isurium* was a place of modest size, and considerable remains of the Roman buildings can be seen, including fragments of pavements. Beyond this, at *Cataractonium*, or Catterick, there are the remains of a fort 240 by 175 feet, by the river Swale. Binchester, on this road, was the Roman *Vinovia*—again the " mortified " b—and from it a road ran to *Pons Ælii*

(Newcastle-on-Tyne). A further road from *Vinovia* ran to *Vindomora* (Ebchester) and thence to *Corstorpitum*, which has already been described, and over the wall to *Habitancum* (Risingham), where a tablet, still in existence, commemorates the rebuilding of the gates and the wall by Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta. Thence to *Bremenium* (High Rochester), where there is a tablet set up by a cohort of the *Varduli*, i.e. a regiment of auxiliaries, commemorating the entire rebuilding of a *balistarium*, that is, a platform for a huge catapult-like engine—in fact a gun emplacement of the time. From this the road, which in quite modern times has unfortunately got the incorrect name of " Watling Street," but which should be called by its older name of " Dene Street," makes its way to Newstead on the Tweed near Melrose, to the Antonine wall and to the far-off outpost of Ardoch.

CHAPTER IX

THE FOSSE WAY AND ITS TRIBUTARIES, WITH THEIR CITIES—AQUÆ SULIS, CORINIUM, GLEVUM

THE Fosse is one of the most remarkable and interesting of the Roman roads and presents to those who traverse it all sorts of variations, for in one place it will be a part of a busy and much-used thoroughfare; at another a rough, almost disused track; and yet, again, a mere grassy path. It has several characteristics which distinguish it from its fellows, for, in the first place, it is in no way connected with London, but starting somewhere in the south-west makes its way obliquely across the country to Lincoln in the north-east. In the next place, wherever we meet with it we find it called "The Fosse," and it is the only road of which it can be said that it keeps its name—and in this case it is just conceivable that it is its Roman name—throughout its entire extent. Then, thirdly, it has very few towns upon it, so that it is a little difficult to understand why it ever came to be constructed, and with the great care which was shown in its construction; for it is singularly straight, at no place being more than six miles out of the direct line throughout the 182 miles of its length. And its structure, as shown by careful examination of the road near Radstock, is carried out according to the rules given by Vitruvius, a Roman writer on these subjects, Thus beginning at the lowest stratum there were (1) *Statumen*, or five inches of rubble; (2) *Rudus*, or fifteen inches of coarse oolite concrete; (3) *Nucleus*, or ten and a half inches of fine cement

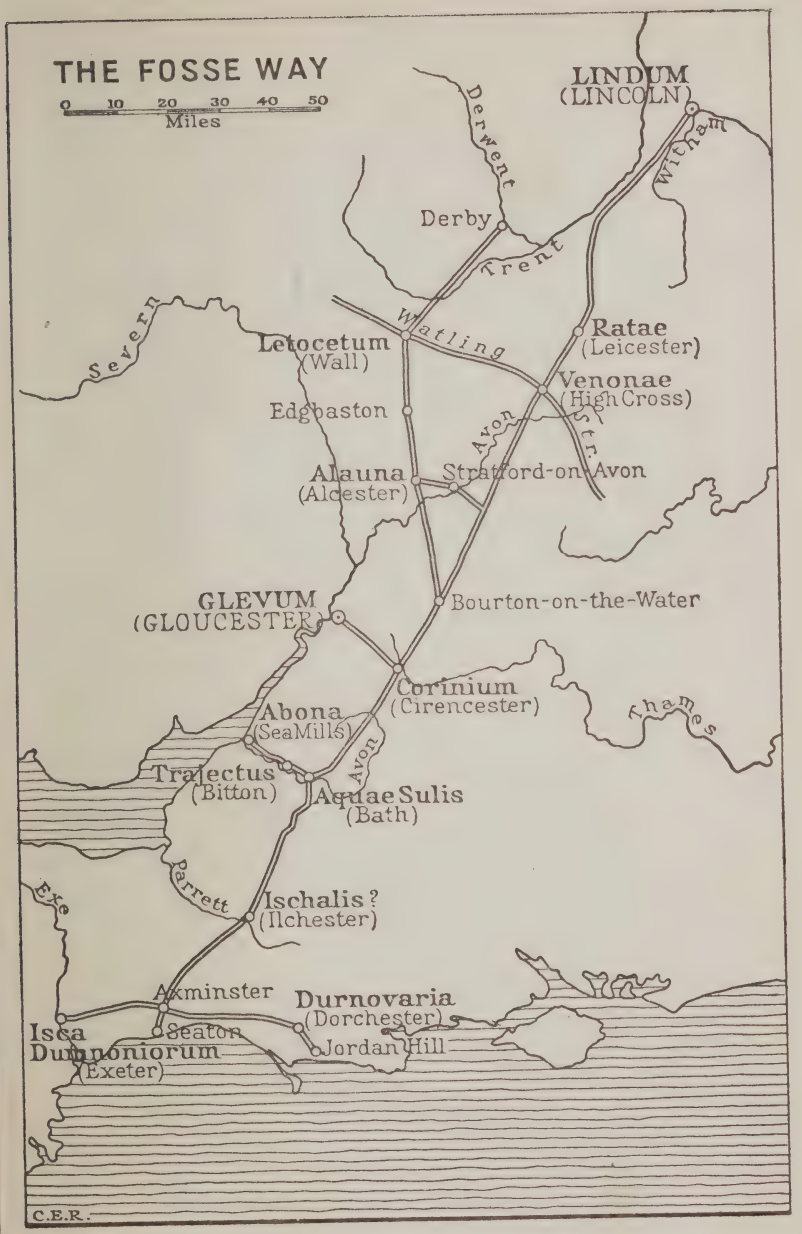
THE FOSSE WAY
0 10 20 30 40 50
Miles
LINDUM
(LINCOLN)
Derwent
Witham
Derby
Trent
Severn
Watling
Ratae
(Leicester)
Letocetum
(Wall)
Venonae
(High Cross)
Edgbaston
Avon
Str.
Alauna
(Alcester)
Stratford-on-Avon
GLEVUM
(GLOUCESTER)
Bourton-on-the-Water
Corinium
(Cirencester)
Thames
Abona
(SeaMills)
Avon
Trajectus
(Bitton)
Aquae Sulis
(Bath)
Parrett
Exe
Ischalis?
(Ilchester)
Axminster
Durnovaria
(Dorchester)
Isca
Dumnoniorum
(Exeter)
Seaton
Jordan Hill
C.E.R.

FIG. 24

and local stone ; (4) *Summum Dorsum*, or *Pavimentum*, irregular paving blocks laid down in lime grouting. It may be noted that the wheel ruts here measure two feet nine inches apart, so that was the distance between the wheels of the Roman vehicles.

After learning these facts about the road we can commence its survey ; and first as to its point of origin. It has generally been thought that this was at Seaton in Devonshire, and it has been surmised that this was the *Mari*, or *Moridunum*, of the Roman " Itinerary." But why should the road have started here since there is no reason to suppose that there was ever any harbour of importance or other reason to account for such a choice ? Perhaps the road did not commence there at all ; for this is clear : that we first meet it at Axminster, which was not a Roman station, so far as we know, and there it is formed by, or perhaps joined by, two roads—one coming from the west from *Isca Dumnoniorum*, or Exeter, and the other from the east from *Durnovaria*, the Dorsetshire Dorchester and its watering place at Jordan Hill, near Melcombe Regis (or Weymouth as it is commonly called), where many interesting objects, including an engraved panel of shale have been found, and where bits of Roman pottery and glass may still be picked up. Perhaps the junction of these two roads formed The Fosse ; at any rate thence it passes to Ilchester, which some have thought was the Roman *Ischalis*, though almost certainly that is not the case. Here the river Yeo was crossed by a ford—of flat stones, says Stukeley, which have disappeared since his time. Then comes *Aquæ Sulis*, or Bath, the Akemanceaster of the Saxons, the Hudata Therma of Ptolemy, the most famous spa in the world, whether from its antiquity or its historical interests. Sometimes the second word in its title is made " Solis," i.e. the Waters of the Sun ; but this is quite incorrect, for Sul, a female deity equated with Minerva by the Romans, was the presiding genius of these waters. Solinus, in the account which he wrote of divers wonders in the third century A.D. says " In

FIG. 25.—HEAD OF THE GORGON
Bath

Britain are hot springs furnished luxuriously for human use : over these springs Minerva presides." The story about Bladud, given in all the guides, is no doubt a myth, but there can be little doubt that the baths were pre-Roman in discovery. The Romans soon took to them with their love for bathing, and may have used them under Claudius, but certainly did so under Nero A.D. 54–68.

The town was never a military station nor a great municipality, but just what it is now, and has been for many years—a place of baths and inns and lodging-houses to accommodate those visiting the waters. According to an early account the town was destroyed by the Saxons about 577, and, though one must accept these statements with reserve, there is nothing intrinsically improbable about this. It is added that it remained a " waste chester " for many years afterwards. A small religious house was there in the eighth century, and that is the early history of Bath. The city never possessed a forum nor a basilica, but it had a great temple to Sul-Minerva, of which fragments remain. Inscriptions tell us that there was a priest of Sul, who no doubt ministered in this temple. The pediment is of much interest, containing figures of winged Victories, the owl sacred to Minerva, but above all a great carved head of the gorgon, said to be the finest piece of carving north of Rome. " Here for once," said Haverfield, " we break through the conventionality of the Roman Empire and trace a touch of genius." Keltic genius we may reasonably add, for there is nothing of the stilted and formal Roman art in this head, with its wide open eyes and—surely a Keltic touch—its huge beard and moustache. Like the lion at Corbridge and some of the pottery made at Castor we seem to trace here the hand of the Keltic artist working for his Roman master. The four seasons are also represented on this pediment, which was raised on columns with Corinthian capitals. The baths are of course the centre of interest, and very much remains of them, for the great bathing basins are still lined with the lead, brought no doubt from the mines of Roman date

at Charterhouse-on-Mendip not far off. The hypocausts which warmed the hot rooms at Bath remain, and parts of the Roman walling ten feet high are still to be seen. The range of buildings was one hundred yards in length and nearly fifty in breadth. There was a sequence of five or six large basins, all containing hot water and all deep enough for swimming purposes. Of these to-day only two are visible, namely, a circular bath thirty-two feet in diameter, and the largest bath of all, an oblong receptacle eighty by forty feet. At both the eastern and western extremities of the buildings were vapour baths, with hypocausts. There was also a well where the water could be obtained for drinking purposes. The Romans, however, always seem to have preferred the external to the internal use of medicinal waters, and the baths at *Aquæ Sulis* belong to the same class as other Roman baths on the Continent, such as Royat in France, Badenweiler in Germany and *Aquæ Flavianæ* in Numidian Africa. In all these were hot rooms and drinking facilities, but what was chiefly relied on was immersion, no doubt with massage. Anyone who has a spare hour in Bath on a wet day can spend it worse than by studying the tombstones in the Abbey, memorials of those who, having come to the city to get relief from their ailments, passed away from earthly troubles. In like manner many tombstones and memorials of the Roman period have been found, of which a few may now be mentioned. The fame of the baths abroad is shown by the inscriptions put up by foreigners thus: (1) A visitor from Trier (*Augusta Trevirorum* on the Mosel) puts up an altar to a god worshipped in his native city. (2) A *Lapidarius*, or stone-merchant from Chartres, perhaps combining business with a health trip by examining into the qualities of the famous oolite known as Bath stone. (3) Like the last, a man from Metz puts up an altar in remembrance of his cure. (4) "Sulinus son of Brucetus," says another inscription, "erected this altar to the Suleviæ." These deities were a Keltic triad somewhat resembling the *Deæ Matres* of the Rhenish legion-

aries, and the man who erected this altar also put up another at *Corinium* (Cirencester) to the same deities. His name is Keltic, and so we may surmise that he was a Romanized Briton from the great south-western city which we have yet to describe. (5) Another altar throws an interesting light on the history of the island, for its inscription reads, " This holy spot " (i.e. shrine or temple) " wrecked by insolent hands, has been cleaned and dedicated anew to the Excellence and Divinity of the Emperor by Gaius Severius Emeritus Centurion." This is probably a fourth century inscription and relates to a temporary revival of paganism, perhaps under Julian the Apostate. Under the Christian ordinances places used for pagan worship might be purified and turned into churches, and perhaps that was what occurred in this instance. Then some conservative officer got his chance and restored for a time the building to its pristine uses, putting up the inscription which has been given above. (6) One last inscription : as we know from the novels of Miss Austen and others when " miss " went to " The Bath " things were likely to happen, and human nature was much the same in the days of the Romans to judge from what is known as the " Bath Curse." This was written backwards—to make it more efficacious we may suppose—on a bit of metal and thrown into the waters in order that their patron Sul might take notice of the outrage and avenge it. It runs, " May he who carried off Vilbia waste away like that dumb water, save only he who . . . [hiatus here] . . . her. It may be Vinna or Exsuperius or Verianus or Severianus or Augustalis or Comitianus or Catusminianus or Germanilla or Iovina." From which lengthy list we may conclude that the Roman " miss " must have been a bit of a flirt.

Beyond *Aquæ Sulis* the road is for a short distance often spoken of to-day as Akeman Street, and, as a matter of fact, the street to which that name more properly belongs does run into it at Cirencester. There is a place on the road which is called on the map " Jackment's Bottom," but

usually by the people around Jackaman's Bottom, in which name the older form is corrupted. "Bottom," it may be added, is a dip in a road; "Woeful Dane's Bottom," another dip near by, is the legendary scene of a victory over a Danish force. Some think that the term Akeman Street is derived from the *Aquæ* to which it led; others that it alluded to the aching man who dragged his bones over the road to the healing waters of Bath. Before leaving that city it may be mentioned that the Avon was there crossed by a ford in Roman times, and that a road left the place for the west which went to *Trajectus* (Bitton) and *Abona* (Sea Mills) near Bristol, which itself seems never to have been a Roman city.

The next city which we arrive at in the heart of the Cotswolds is *Corinium*, the modern Cirencester, now a modest sized and very attractive market town, but in Roman days the second largest city in Britain, only London coming before it. It is clear that it was the centre of government of the province known as *Britannia Prima*; and whilst we are in some uncertainty as to the position of the other provinces into which Britain was eventually divided, there can be none about this since it is determined by an inscription. It was surrounded by a group of very beautiful villas, of which that at Chedworth, to be dealt with in a later chapter, is thought to have been the country house of the governor of the province, and is connected with *Corinium* by a special road known to-day as the "White Way." The city, which covered 240 acres, almost the exact size of the Ancient Cologne (*Colonia Agrippensium*), had walls two miles in circuit, is almost certainly the *Korinion* of Ptolemy, and its name seems to have the same root at the Churn, one of the head waters of the Thames, which runs through it. The Fosse is its chief road, and by it the Akeman Street is connected with it. A street called Ermine Street, though in no way part of the road of that name dealt with in a previous chapter, also enters the city. Even in recent days it must have been a place of great interest, and in its palmy

days one of much splendour. It had a basilica 320 feet long with a western apse, a nave 34½ feet wide separated by fine columns from two aisles each 17¼ feet wide. The city had considerable suburbs, and in one of them there are still the remains of the amphitheatre, an earthen erection now known as the Bull Ring and probably used for bull-baiting in mediæval times.

Otherwise, except for the things in the museum, nearly everything is gone, save part of the wall near the river Churn, and how it went is to be learnt from the history of the town, which tells us that in the eighteenth century it was the custom for the farmers of the district to bring teams of horses and chains and harness them to the pillars of the noble buildings, even then standing, so as to tear them down and cart them away to be broken up for road material. Thus perished what was once the second largest city in England. To the museum, then, the seeker after Roman *Corinium* must go if he is to see what the city was like, and there he will find some fine pavements, a few only of those which adorned the houses of this splendid provincial city. Amongst other relics he will see one of really first-rate interest, and that is a word-square scratched on a piece of plaster—the only classical word-square ever discovered. It runs thus :

R O T A S
O P E R A
T E N E T
A R E P O
S A T O R

which has been translated to mean, " Arepo, the sower keeps the wheels at work "—not too good Latin if that is what it means. Every schoolboy, and perhaps, for anything the present writer knows, schoolgirl has tried to make word-squares which were also intelligible compositions, and as a rule has utterly failed to accomplish his wishes. Probably

the same is true of the Roman boy or girl or older person who in an idle moment scratched down this square to amuse himself and incidentally interest the archæologists of many centuries later.

Corinium began as a military centre, for at one time two regiments of auxiliary cavalry were stationed there. But for no long time, for the Cotswold folk seem to have been rapidly settled, and the town, after all, is only fifty miles from the legionary city of *Castra Legionum*, or Caerleon-on-Usk. So the military were removed and the city of *Corinium* settled down to a peaceful existence. It " led the comfortable, unexciting life of a flourishing country town dependent mainly on its weekly or monthly markets and on its crops grown near it—unromantic, untroubled by sensational events, and therefore happy." Thus a recent writer sums up the tale of *Corinium*, and as to its post-Roman history we know absolutely nothing : perhaps a continuous life was carried on there less aristocratic and more agricultural. There is nothing to contradict such a possibility. One further point may be mentioned. As Christianity spread throughout the country it reached this district, certainly Chedworth and no doubt also *Corinium*, though we have as yet found no trace of a Christian church there. But there is an inscribed pillar which tells us a story as well as giving us the information alluded to above as to the province in which the city was situated. " *Septimius renovat Primæ Provinciæ Rector Signum et erectam priscæ religionis Columnam* " tells us, as we were told by the inscription in Bath, of a temporary renewal of paganism, most likely under Julian the Apostate, and suggests a previous Christian use.

From *Corinium* a road to the west led to *Glevum*, the modern Gloucester, i.e. *Glevum-castra*. Nennius says that this place was called after its founder " Glou." We might disregard this familiar attempt at an explanation by eponymy, but Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us that it was called Claudiocester, and there is no inherent impossibility

in its having been founded in the time of Claudius and named after him, whence might arise the Glou or Clou, but it must be admitted that the evidence is but slight. It was made a *Colonia* in the time of Nerva (96–98), so that it was a place of early foundation. There are tiles marked R P G, i.e. "Respublica Glevensis," a large number of which have been found at Hucclecote on the east side of the city; and at Bath there is the memorial of a *Decurio* of *Glevum*, so that the city had full rights of local government and doubtless a *territorium*. It was forty-six acres in extent, and the intersection of the two main streets is still the centre of Gloucester near to that "New Inn" which is one of the oldest houses of entertainment in England. This cross is about the only relic of Roman *Glevum* left to-day, except some almost undiscoverable fragments of walls and gates, hidden away in cellars and gardens.

From *Corinium* the Fosse pursues a long and cityless course, sometimes a high road, sometimes almost undiscoverable, crosses the Watling at High Cross and reaches *Ratæ*, or Leicester. *Ratum*, a Romano-Keltic word is perhaps connected with the same root which is found in *Ratumagos*, the old name of Rouen, and in *Argentoratum*, that of Strasburg. There is no possible doubt that Leicester was *Ratæ*, as the fact is proved by the milliary already described. Its modern name is derived from the Saxon *Leagra* (i.e. laager), an enclosure, and Chester. Whether there was a pre-Roman settlement at this place is unknown. A tile has been found here on which is scratched "L viii." As the Eighth Legion never was near Britain this is probably a soldier's error for "L viiii" or "ix." As we have already seen, this legion was sent north after Aulus Plautius had settled the southern part of the island. It was at Lincoln, then York, and has appeared several times in these pages. It is quite likely that on its way to Lincoln it may have made some stay at *Ratæ*; indeed, this may have been a garrison town for a time, until conditions required a further move north. It had a municipal government of a tribal kind, with a senate

and magistrates, but it never was made either a *Municipium* nor a *Colonia*. It was only a small place, about forty to fifty acres in extent, and in the fourth century, at any rate, was provided with walls and gates. In fact, a fragment of what was the western gate is still to be seen in what is called the "Jewry Wall." Geoffrey of Monmouth called this the "Temple of Janus," but, as a matter of fact, a gate it is, and one of very unusual construction, for it has a central piece with a niche for a statue, probably of Minerva, who was, amongst other things, the protectress of city gates. On either side of this was an entrance.

No doubt the city had a forum and a basilica, but no traces of them have been found, though pavements have been unearthed from time to time, and we have evidence of the usual cemetery alongside the street and beyond the walls. What we know of the city, which it must be admitted is not much, goes to show that it was a prosperous middle-class place without any great wealth.

Before passing from the subject of the Fosse Way there are one or two points which may now be taken up, having been omitted previously, so that the continuity of description of the street might not be interfered with. At its southern end it is related to two towns of which something should be said. *Isca Dumnoniorum*, the modern Exeter, is the "Water" of the local tribe—*uisge*, or whisky, which is not far off the pronunciation, being the Irish word for water. This place marks the limit of Roman occupation to the south-west to any effective extent, and no more need be said about it. But there is more of interest about the other town, *Durnovaria*, or Dorchester (the "Casterbridge" of Hardy's novels, where its Roman origin is indicted in its supposititious title). Most Roman towns rose upon the actual site of the camp, which was their predecessor; but not so, apparently, here. On the hill above Dorchester is an earthwork called Poundbury, or Pommery, which seems to have been the first place of occupation, the town having subsequently grown up on lower ground, where the four

FIG. 26.—GATEWAY OF ROMAN LEICESTER

avenues of fine trees indicate the lines of its walls. *Dorn* is a fist in Irish and *dourna* boxing in Breton, and it has been suggested that the name of the place came from boxing matches in the amphitheatre. The suggestion may, perhaps, be a little far-fetched, but the amphitheatre is there outside the limits of the town and known by the name of Maumbury. That it is still there, by the way, is due to the united efforts of antiquaries and others with some sense of the value of ancient times when a railway company proposed to cart it all away to make room for sidings or other such objects of beauty. The amphitheatre is much the finest and largest in Britain, though, as an earthen construction, it is far behind the stone-built edifices of the Continent. The last time that it was used as a place of execution—its function in the eighteenth century and later—it held ten thousand persons, but of course arena as well as banks were then occupied. This will give an idea, however, of its size. Recent excavations show that prior to the advent of the Romans this was an earthen fortress of the type, but very much smaller, of Maiden Castle, a few miles off, the greatest earthwork in the island. When the Romans took possession of the region they evidently did not like the position of Maumbury, which is low-lying, and they made their fortress of Poundbury on higher ground. But, when they wanted one, it seems to have occurred to them that the fort would make a good amphitheatre, and to that use it was put. In the Parliamentary Wars it was once more used as a fortress.

The other matter concerns the Ryknield Street, of which mention has already been made in an earlier chapter. It starts from Fosse at Bourton-on-the-Water, a charming village, and its course to Wall has already been described. It will be remembered that it ran the gamut of experiences of an ancient road. It is a broad highway for a few miles near Studley on the Birmingham road. It is a mere narrow passage through woods over the top of Cotswold above Broadway. It is a single file lane near Beoley, still reminis-

cent of a peculiarly horrible murder. It is a grass track near Bidford and over Sutton Park. It is hardly worthy of being called a road. But when it gets beyond Wall it becomes somewhat more important, and makes its way to Derby. There the road forks, or, perhaps better, from that point two roads make for the north. The more easterly of these traverses Templeborough on the south side of the Don, where the remains of a camp 200 by 120 yards is still to be seen and where various objects have been discovered Thence it passes to *Legiolum* (Castleford), and thus joins the Erming Street, or one of the roads described under that heading in a previous chapter.

The westerly road first reaches *Lutudarum* (Wirksworth) and then crosses to *Aquæ* (Buxton), where baths have been found, and from that to Brough—perhaps *Nanone* of the Ravennas, as that is the next place to *Aquis* (thus in that list), and a milliary *Anavionax* has been found at Higher Buxton. At any rate, there is a fort here which was excavated not many years ago, and is a rectangle with rounded corners 112 by 92 yards within the walls, which were six feet thick. It seems to have been built, or much more probably rebuilt, about A.D. 158. From Brough the road goes to Melandra and *Mancunium*, both of which, having been already described, may be passed over here. From the last named the road passes to *Coccium* (Wigan) and thence to *Bremetennacum*, or Ribchester.[1] Here part of the wall, a gateway, and two gate-towers have been located; also a buttressed building which apparently was a granary. Inscriptions point to a period of activity under Severus and Caracalla. The walled rectangular enclosure which constitutes this station was 200 by 143 yards. From this the road in question makes for the north, eventually reaching the wall by two tracks.

[1] The Roman names are given from the map in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," which presumably had the approval of the late Professor Haverfield, as it accompanies his article on Roman Britain.

CHAPTER X

ICKNIELD STREET AND SOME OTHER SOUTHERN ROADS AND CITIES

A VISITOR to the "White Horse" near Uffington Lisle on the Berkshire Downs who pursues his investigations beyond that object and in the direction of Weyland Smith's forge, will come upon a green trackway with a low bank along either side, known there and elsewhere in its course as " The Green Road." The same can be seen by anyone climbing the down above Wantage, in the direction of Farley for example. This ancient trackway is the Icknield Street, an old British way which was never worked over by the Romans, so far as can be ascertained, though no doubt it must often have been used by them. It starts in Norfolk, where place-names like Icleton, Icklingham, and the like are to be found and tell us of the warlike tribe of horse-breeders called the Iceni who lived in that region and after whom the street is named. This was the main trade route of this people, the road along which they drove their horses to market, and it was the only passage which ran through the Devil's and Fleam Dykes, still to be seen in Cambridgeshire. To-day these dykes look as if their ends were " in the air," but that is because the fens and forest between which they lay have disappeared. When these were in existence the dykes completed the barrier which guarded the territory of the Iceni. This tribe had, on the first coming of the Romans, entered into alliance with them, but later on revolted. Ostorius Scapula was sent to reduce them, and Tacitus tells us what took place. They chose, as a battlefield, he tells us, a spot walled in by a rude barrier

with a narrow approach impenetrable to cavalry ; that is to say, they selected the space between the two dykes where the Icknield Street passed through. The Roman cavalry did not try to storm the enemy's position on their horses, but, dismounting, made an infantry attack, which was completely successful, and the Iceni, caught between the banks, suffered a very severe defeat. From that time to the uprising under Boudicca they gave no trouble, and that event has already been sufficiently dealt with. The street itself is a wandering track which crosses the Watling at Dunstable and that between Silchester and Bath at a point between Marlborough (*Cunetio*) and Wans (*Verlucio*), and then just fades out of existence, so to speak, for one traces it until it becomes green field and is lost.

Camulodunum, or Colchester, was connected with London by at least two ways. One has been mentioned, that, namely, which leaves Watling at Braughing. The other, which is the more direct, left London somewhere about the east end of what is now Oxford Street (if indeed that street was not part of it) and then passed by Finsbury Fields and Shoreditch with burials at or near Bethnal Green Road. Thence it passed by *Cæsaromagus*, a spot near Chelmsford, to its destination. The Dun, or strong place of Camulos, was named after a deity in whose name the Keltic word " Cam " is involved. Though spelt as above, it is pronounced " kowm " in Irish, and means crooked. It is used in the sense of awry in Shakespeare, and a cam window in the Cotswolds (where there is a very tortuous village appropriately called Cam) is what is generally called a bow window elsewhere. Rhŷs equates it with the German Himmel, and it descends from the Aryan root *cam*, the thing which curves over, i.e. the heavens. Thus the philologists. Henry of Huntingdon is responsible for the tale that Colchester was named after a king Coel (the " Old King Cole " of nursery rhyme, by the way), who was monarch of this place and father of St. Helen, the mother of the Emperor Constantine —a story without any foundation in fact. The city was origin-

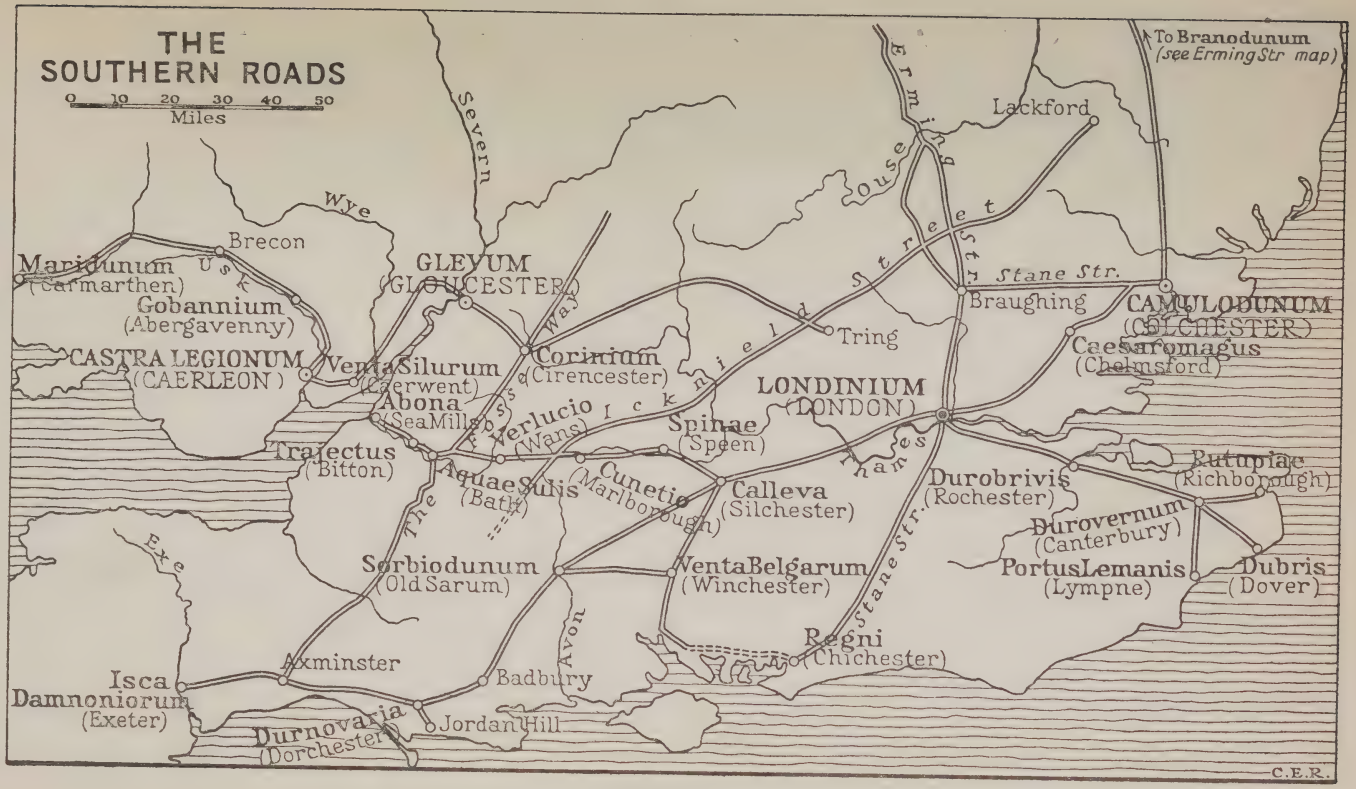
THE SOUTHERN ROADS
0 10 20 30 40 50
Miles
To Branodunum (see Erming Str map)
Lackford
Erming Street
Stane Str.
Braughing
CAMULODUNUM (COLCHESTER)
Caesaromagus (Chelmsford)
Tring
Icknield Street
LONDINIUM (LONDON)
Thames
Rutupiae (Richborough)
Durobrivis (Rochester)
Durovernum (Canterbury)
PortusLemanis (Lympne)
Dubris (Dover)
Stane Str.
Regni (Chichester)
Calleva (Silchester)
Spinae (Speen)
Cunetio (Marlborough)
Verlucio (Wans)
Corinium (Cirencester)
GLEVUM (GLOUCESTER)
Severn
Wye
Brecon
Maridunum (Carmarthen)
Usk
Gobannium (Abergavenny)
CASTRA LEGIONUM (CAERLEON)
Venta Silurum (Caerwent)
Abona (Sea Mills)
Trajectus (Bitton)
Aquae Sulis (Bath)
The Fosse Way
Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum)
Venta Belgarum (Winchester)
Avon
Exe
Axminster
Badbury
Isca Damnoniorum (Exeter)
Durnovaria (Dorchester)
Jordan Hill
C.E.R.

FIG. 27

ally the capital of the *Trinovantes*, and afterwards, under Cunobelinus and later his son Caratacos, that of the *Catuvellauni*. Claudius was present when it was taken, and with his army were also Vespasian and his son Titus, so that three emperors *in esse* or *in futuro* were in *Camulodunum* at the same time. After it was taken the city was created a *Colonia*, a number of veterans being placed there. A statue of Victory was set up as well as subsequently a temple to the dead and deified Claudius. Haverfield thought that Claudius, when he set up the *Colonia* endowed it with an ample *territorium*, which, in his opinion, stretched westward as far as Dunmore or even as the Stort at Bishop's Stortford. There is an inscription which refers to a *provincia*, and perhaps this is what is indicated. The time-expired veterans who were set in this place to give an example to the natives do not seem, from the account of Tacitus, to have been at all exemplary persons, for they harried the natives and insulted them. However, they paid for their performances in the time of Boudicca, when the city was destroyed by fire and all in it perished by the sword. It is likely that it was after this event, when the city was being rebuilt, that the walls were erected. Of these there are considerable remains, and they enclosed a space of about 1,000 yards from west to east and 530 yards from north to south. The Balkerne gate was near the middle of the west side, and has been examined under considerable difficulties and found to have had two entries for wheeled traffic and two also for foot passengers, as well as two quadrant-shaped guard chambers, a more elaborate gateway than that at Lincoln described previously. Mr. Bruton thinks that this type of gateway dates from the Augustan Age. A number of insulæ have been excavated in the Castle Park, and various pavements found as well as many burials have been discovered in the two cemeteries along the road in the immediate neighbourhood, so that the local museum is very rich in objects of the period.

Calleva Atrebatum—the town in the wood of the Atre-

bates, a Gallic tribe with head-quarters at what is now Artois, the Silchester of to-day—is a place of extraordinary interest because, having never been built over, it has been possible to excavate it thoroughly, and this has been done and the results published in successive volumes of " Archæologia." It is not far from Reading, in the museum of which town many of the relics found at Silchester have been placed, and it is on a road from London which passed through *Ad Pontes* (Staines), *Spinæ* (Speen), *Cunetio* (Folly Farm, near Marlborough), and *Verlucio* (Wans) to Bath. This list accepts the commonly received identifications, though *Spinæ* is only a name to us.

When one visits Silchester one finds it situated on the summit of a low hill, from which, and especially if one climbs on to the wall, there is a surprisingly wide view. No one, however dull of mind, could approach this place and not be struck with the wide circuit of wall, still as high as twenty feet in many of its parts, and enclosing an area of 100 acres, within which there is nothing but a farm and its buildings and a little church. The rest is cornfields—was before the excavations and now is again—though it seems a pity that one or two of the more interesting lines of foundation, say the Christian church, if such it be, could not have been left covered with sheds like some of the Roman villas elsewhere. The town was placed at the intersection of important roads, one of which has been mentioned. The others were, first, a road from *Clausentum* (Bitterne, near Southampton) through *Venta Belgarum* (Winchester); and, secondly, another from *Durnovaria* (Dorchester) through *Sorbiodunum* (Old Sarum). It was thus a place of topographical importance, and it is possible that Agricola may have founded it—so a writer suggests. But there was a pre-Roman settlement, and perhaps the ditches which surround the walls may have belonged to that period. There are two of these, and that nearest to the walls is V-shaped and narrow, the other broad and saucer-shaped. Both, however, become V-shaped at the north gate, where

port-holes lined with flints seem to indicate the former position of a bridge.

Hence we have to do with the familiar theme of a British *oppidum* turned into a Roman city—long before A.D. 70,

FIG. 28.—PLAN OF "CALLEVA ATREBATUM," SILCHESTER
A, B, C, D, gates; E, Basilica and Forum; G, "Hospitium"; L, Amphitheatre

says Haverfield, and all at one time. It was set out in the familiar chess-board pattern, though by no means all the insulæ were filled up. But the plan is irregular, as the figure shows, and that perhaps because it had to conform to the shape of the earlier town. The two main streets do not form a true cross. There are the usual four gates and an

extra postern opposite the amphitheatre, which is earthen and outside the walls and ditches.

In the middle of the town was the forum, a block almost square and covering nearly two acres ; a square with colonnades, three sides occupied by shops, the fourth by the large basilica, a place where the local courts were held and where merchants met to transact business. Not that Silchester was much of a business place, for its main industry seems to have been wool dyeing ; but there were a number of shops and no doubt the people from around resorted to them. Amongst the other buildings were what is called the " Hospitium," a set of baths tacked on to what may have been an inn. There was a temple, thought in earlier days to have been circular and dedicated to the worship of Vesta, but now seen to be multangular and unascribed. There was another thirty-five feet square, perhaps dedicated to Mars, in which there was found an inscription on a piece of Purbeck marble containing the word *Calleva*. There was another small building which has generally been accepted as a Christian church, and was the first of such edifices found in Britain and until recently the only one. It is said sufficiently to resemble other buildings on the Continent and at Timgad, for example, to make its purpose perfectly clear, but one must admit that the evidence is not overwhelming since there is no such thing as a symbol connected with it. There is an apse and in front of that a square of tessaræ, on which, no doubt, the altar stood, the priest celebrating from the east side. There were some eighty houses scattered about, and one or two of these reached such a size as to possess twenty-five to thirty rooms. These houses are of the two types to be described in a subsequent chapter, corridor and courtyard, and traces of wall-painting have been found in connexion with them. One of the buildings may have been a bakery, but it is doubtful, so that we do not know whether the people of the town had reached that stratum of civilization where each house does not bake its own bread. They were fond of cock-fighting and they kept

cats and dogs; so much we can learn from the various objects which excavation has revealed. What became of the town? The gateways were narrowed, and we have learnt what that meant. A Roman eagle was found in a pit amidst traces of conflict, perhaps internecine strife if Allectus was really killed here. There is no trace or legend of Saxon attack, and perhaps the place was merely deserted and remained a waste chester. An interesting series of discoveries throws light on the tongue spoken not merely by the classes but by the masses.

This we learn from the *graffiti*, or scribblings on the walls, tiles, and such-like objects which then, as now, were made the places for idle messages and so on. Nothing quite like the inscriptions at Pompeii, where we learn that "His little sweetheart means to make her Claude duovir," or a member of the corporation as we should call it, has been found in Britain, though the scratched "Verecunda Ludia Lucius gladiator" found on a piece of pottery at *Ratæ* looks as if some damsel of the period had been as much captivated by her gladiator as young ladies to-day are said to be by the fashionable actor of the moment. In *Calleva* two very interesting *graffiti* have been found on tiles: "*Pertacus perfidus Campester Lucilianus Campanus conticuere omnes*" does not seem to convey any very particular information, but the Virgilian tag with which the inscription ends is a sign that the author in question was well known and to the class of person whom one might imagine as writing idly on a bit of tile. The other is even more suggestive, as it seems to convey a hint to a fellow-workmen that his actions had not gone unnoticed: "*Austalis dibus*" (i.e. *diebus*) "*xiii vagatur sib(i)cotidim*," i.e. Austalis goes off on his own every day for a fortnight. Latin as a spoken language seems to have permeated the country and to have remained in it, for when Gildas, long after the departure of the legions, is telling of the coming of the Saxons, he says that they arrived in three kyulas, or keels or boats, which "in our language"—note the *our*—"are *naves longæ*." Further,

FIG. 29.—ROMAN EAGLE OF BRONZE
Found in a pit at Silchester

when St. Augustine came still later he does not seem to have had any difficulty in communicating with the British churchmen, though they refused to receive a man coming from the midst of their enemies. One last object must be mentioned, and that is an Ogham stone, and by far the most easterly example ever found. The Ogham script appears to have been the property of the Deisi, who inhabited the south of Ireland, and this particular and very cumbrous form of writing is found on stones in that part of Ireland, and also in Pembrokeshire, and even in Devonshire, for there are two or three specimens at Tavistock. The inscription on the *Calleva* example, which was found in a well, reads "*Ebicatos maqi mucoi*," which means "The memorial stone of Ebicatos, the son of one belonging to the tribe of ——" and here the inscription is lost. But we learn that amongst the inhabitants of *Calleva* there must have been persons capable of writing the Ogham script, and hence, we must assume, belonging to some Goidelic tribe of the Kelts; perhaps from Ireland.

At no very great distance from *Calleva* is another ancient Roman city and fortress *Sorbiodunum*, or Old Sarum, an extraordinary topographical palimpsest, for, as Green wrote, "Celt and Roman alike had seen the military value of the height from which the eye sweeps nowadays over the grassy meadows of the Avon to the arrowy spire of Salisbury, and admirable as the position was in itself, it had been strengthened at a vast cost of labour." It is impossible to enter here into the history of this place, though it is full of interest, and the excavations, which were commenced before the war and suspended during it, have not gone far enough to give us much information as to what was successively a British fortress, a Roman station, a Saxon capital, a mediæval cathedral city, declining into one of the most rotten of the various rotten boroughs disposed of by the Reform Act of 1832. The roads from Silchester and elsewhere all point to the inner of two great concentric rings of entrenchment. The outer, said to have been

strengthened by Alfred, has a diameter of about 520 yards.

There is not much left to-day of the Roman *Venta Belgarum*, though Winchester has many objects of interest to attract the visitor. The first name in its Roman title used to be thought to indicate an open space, and we have it also in *Venta Icenorum* in Norfolk and *Venta Silurum* in South Wales; but Keltic scholars now are of opinion that the word comes from some root associated with *vendo* and indicates a market town just as the Chipping in Chipping Camden or Norton or Sodbury does at a later date and in a different tongue. This place was perhaps a pre-Roman station, and in Roman times it seems to have been a town very much like *Calleva*, but larger and more in touch with Roman administration, though the legends as to King Lucius and a cathedral are quite unworthy of credence. The city has been even more built over than *Deva*, so that there is not much of a Roman character observable; and perhaps one of the most interesting discoveries is that of an altar with the inscription: "*Matrib*(*us*) *Ital*(*i*)*s Germanis Gal*(*lis*) *Brit*(*annis*) *A*(*ntonianus*) *Lu*(*cretianus*) *Be*(*nificiarius*) *Co*(*sularis*) *rest*(*ituit*). A beneficiary was some kind of official, perhaps a superior clerk, but the point of interest about this inscription is that it is obvious that Antonianus was anxious to include the various races living in the town at the time, and we see what they were; yet it was but a small place.

Regnum, or Chichester, was the chief town of a district very much cut off from the rest of Britain by the immense forest of Anderida. (See Chap. I.) Here has been found an inscription to one Cogidubnos, obviously a Kelt and king of this place, of which more in the last chapter of this book. It has been said that *Regnum* developed into a *Municipium*, but the evidence is quite unconvincing, consisting in the fact that there was certainly here a *Collegium*, or workmen's guild of western type. The town is still surrounded by walls enclosing an area of 752 by 757 yards and thus very

FIG. 30.—SOUTH-EAST CORNER BASTION, BURGH CASTLE OR GARIANONUM, NEAR GREAT YARMOUTH

nearly square, which walls in position and partly in construction are of Roman date.

Mention has already been made of the official named *Comes Litoris Saxonici*, a kind of Lord High Admiral with land jurisdiction as well as authority at sea. To him was committed the safety of the eastern and south-eastern coasts of the island. He had under his control nine forts covering the district between the Wash and Southampton Water. These were, in order :

Branodunum, or Brancaster, near the south-eastern end of the Wash, of which there are some remains. It was a square construction about 190 yards each way, with rounded corners, and it is recorded that in 1600 the walls, which were eleven feet thick, were still twelve feet in height.

Garianonum (Burgh Castle, near Great Yarmouth), of which there are considerable remains, as will be seen from the picture. The fort was an irregular oblong having its sea face longer than that facing inland. The bastions (one of which is shown in the figure) are symmetrically arranged and still fine pieces of masonry.

Othona, or Ithanceaster of the Saxons, in Essex, guarding the entrance to the Blackwater and incidentally *Camulodunum* from the sea. At Bradwell juxta Mare there are some remains of this fortress, which was a not quite rectangular fortress with rounded corners. The sea wall has gone, but there are remains of two bastions like those of Burgh Castle.

Regulbium, or Reculvers, protected the north mouth of the Wantsum and was eight acres in extent. The south and east walls exist, though much shattered. The north wall has been quite destroyed by the sea, which was a quarter mile off in Leland's days.

Rutupiæ, or Richborough, which has been described in Chapter V.

Portus Lemanis, or Lympne, now remote from the sea, which has fragments of walls now so irregularly arranged as to make it difficult to ascertain its original plan—perhaps pentagonal, Mr. Ward thought. It also had semicircular

bastions, and, according to Stukeley, covered seventeen acres.

Dubris, or Dover, also dealt with in Chapter V.

Anderida, or Pevensey, whose fate is described in the Saxon Chronicle under date 491: "This year Ella and Cissa stormed Anderida and slew all that dwelt therein, so that not one Briton was left." Here the Romans, compelled no doubt by the configuration of the ground, departed from their favourite quadrilateral form and adopted an oval outline. This place was in mediæval times converted into a castle and so has endured considerable change, but it has great bastions like Porchester, and a gate of single opening which is set back between a pair of them. The walls are built of Eastbourne sandstone, and an inscription shows that the place was repaired under Honorius, perhaps by Stilicho.

Portus Adurnis.—As to this, the last and most westerly of the forts, there has been much controversy. By a false philology it was at one time assumed to be Arundel, which is quite clearly not the case. Probably it is Porchester, which, again incorrectly, has been called *Portus Magnus*, which of course is the name of the harbour itself and not of a place situated on it. Porchester was also used as a mediæval fortress and at a still later date as a prison, so that it has undergone considerable changes, but the square outline still remains with the walls and bastions, which include nine acres. Of these pieces of masonry much is Roman.

This account of the towns and fortresses of Roman Britain, from which of necessity—for it is intended to give a general and not a particular view of the country—many minor places have been excluded, must not terminate without some brief account of two important towns, one civil, one military, of the western side.

Castra Legionum, or *Isca Silurum*, the Fortress of Legions or The Water of the Silures, the modern Caerleon-on-Usk, was the head-quarters during their stay in England of the

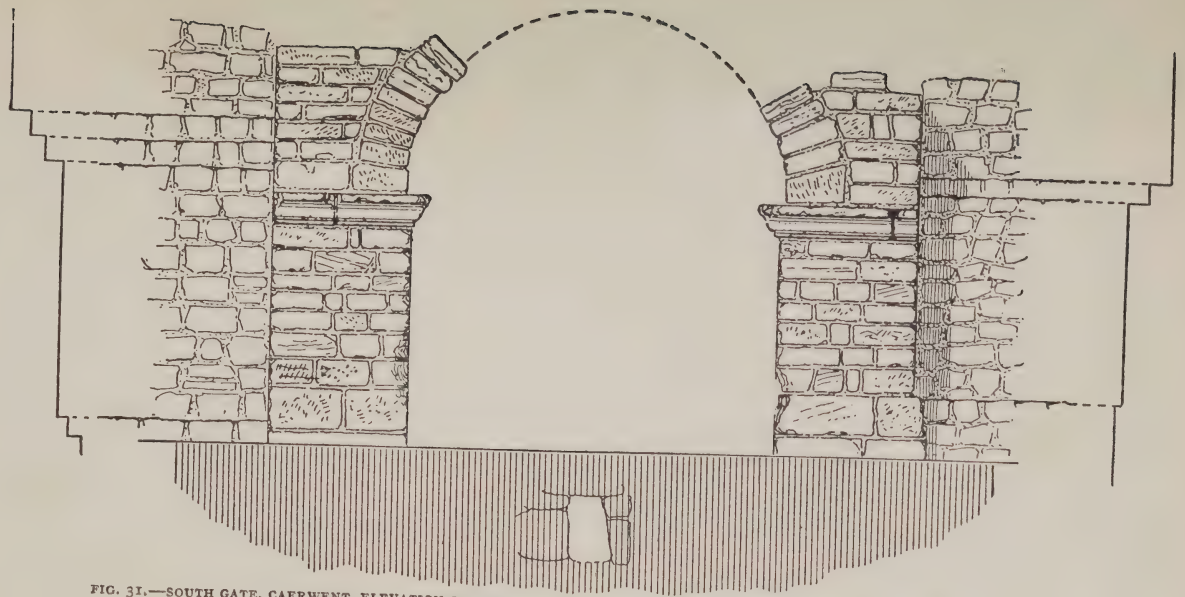

FIG. 31.—SOUTH GATE, CAERWENT, ELEVATION OF INNER FACE, WITH INNER PROFILE OF TOWN WALL ON EITHER SIDE (4 ft. to 1 in.)

Second, Augustan Legion, and from this spot Wales was policed in its southern parts, as it was from *Deva* in the north. The original fortress erected here appears to have had earthen ramparts, connected with which there were a series of stone towers. Later on a wall of masonry was built as a facing to this rampart, and the earlier towers were bonded into it. This stone wall was remarkably massive, and is said to have been the finest Roman wall in Britain. At the south corner it is still fifteen feet in height. Outside the walls there is a depression 274 by 226 feet in extent which has long been known as " King Arthur's Round Table." This, it now appears, is probably what remains of the amphitheatre.

Venta Silurum, the Market of the Silures, following a derivation already alluded to, or Caerwent of to-day, was the centre of civil life in the district and had cantonal powers, that is to say, was the chief town of a district over which it ruled. This is convincingly shown by an inscription set up " *ex decreto respub(lica) civit(atis) Silurium.*" It does honour to a commander of the Second Legion and is an indication of the close relationship which no doubt existed between the civil and military cities. *Venta Silurum* was a rectangular enclosure 400 by 500 yards in extent, provided with a wall and the usual gateways, which to-day exhibit what one might almost call the usual narrowing met with in Roman towns in the island, and telling the same tale of lessening power of resistance against attacks from without. Through the town passed a road, which is called Via Julia, and by this means connexion was made with other stations along the southern border of Wales. The little town had a forum, which was square, and on three sides surrounded by rows of shops, whilst on the fourth was the basilica, the whole forming an oblong block of buildings about 100 by 240 feet. It was a building not without decorative features, as fragments of Corinthian capitals show. Within the walls, an unusual feature and especially in a small place, was an amphitheatre. There

was a pagan temple—perhaps more than one, but one has been discovered—and an interesting altar to Mars Ocelos has also been found here. Here, too, has been found a little building like that discovered at Silchester, which has been identified as a Christian church and may have been such, though there is no Christian symbol about it to settle the matter definitely.

CHAPTER XI

THE HOUSE IN ROMAN BRITAIN

THE wealthy citizen of the City of Rome itself, besides his town house usually delighted in the possession of a villa, or several villas, in the country, on some river like the Anio or along the seaside at Baiæ. Pliny the younger, had four or five, and gives a vivid description of the delightful life which he led therein. The Roman citizen in Britain may also have had in some cases a country house as well, perhaps, as one in some town ; but whether in town or country various differences existed between these residences and those in the warmer South. In the first place, in Britain there was no difference in plan between town and country houses—both of the two forms, yet to be described, being found in both situations. The types also were not the same, for the Italian villa was constructed around an open atrium, which was never the case in Britain. The fact is that differences in climate necessitated differences in construction. In the South escape from the sun in summer was the great desideratum ; in the North the main thing was to be able to keep oneself warm during the large part of the year when it is necessary to do so in England. In Italy two kind of villas were recognized. There was the Villa Rustica, really a good farm-house attached to some estate, and there was the Villa Urbana which the Roman patrician might in his own idiom have described as " My little place in the country."

The villas in England have often been said to have been all rather glorified Rusticæ. No doubt none of them so far discovered, or, it may be added, likely to be discovered,

rise to the plane of the villa of Hadrian, or even of many homes far less splendid than that; but there are a few which might fairly claim, one would think, to have a place

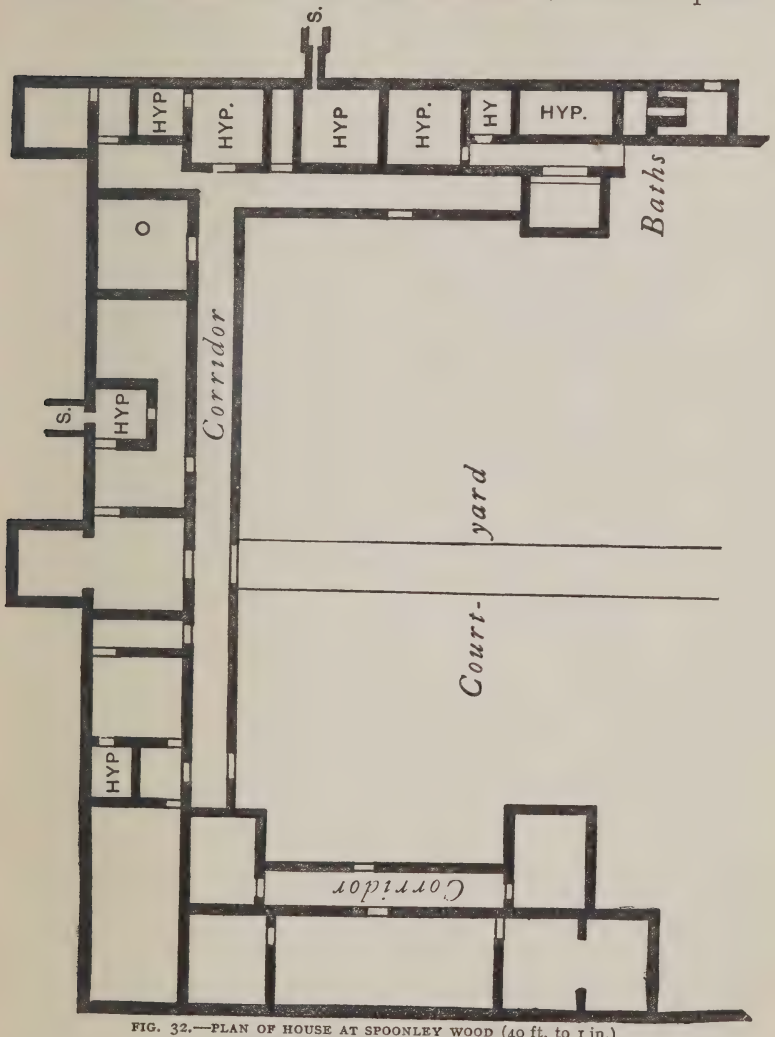

FIG. 32.—PLAN OF HOUSE AT SPOONLEY WOOD (40 ft. to 1 in.)
The corridor type of Roman House

amongst those of a higher type than farm-houses—North-leigh in Oxfordshire, for example, which had fifty rooms and three sets of baths: not mere bathrooms let it be

remembered. In Britain there were two distinct types of dwelling-house—the Corridor and the Courtyard. The corridor seems to be an indigenous type, for no Italian pattern from which it can be derived has been discovered. A glazed corridor, or *cryptoporticus*, running the whole length of the front of the house, with rooms opening off it, characterizes this form. Here it may be noted that the Romans had a knowledge of and manufactured various kinds of glass—crown, plate, ground, and coloured. After their time it was many years before glass came into use at all again, and when Benedict Biscop built his church at Monkwearmouth in 690 he had to bring glass workers over from Gaul. Nor have we yet returned to the complete bathing appliances provided for servants as well as for the other inhabitants of the house. The falling to pieces of Roman civilization in Britain and the coming of the pagan and uncleanly northern pirates seriously put back the clock in England. The corridor house, to return to our topic, often had wings, and, when that was the case, these also had a corridor. Sometimes this kind of house was small and really a Villa Rustica ; sometimes it was large and the dwelling of one of the wealthy of the land. Such was the case at Spoonley and at Chedworth, two of the group of villas which lay near *Corinium* in some of the fairest spots of the Cotswolds, that land of beautiful places. In the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries there was around Shrewsbury a county society which had a season of some six weeks every Christmas in the county town, where all the wealthy magnates of the vicinity had town houses. The condition of affairs around *Corinium* may well have been quite comparable to this, and we may think of the wealthy and comfortable aristocrats of these villas driving in their two-wheeled vehicles along the White Road or other of the small by-roads still traceable in the district to *Corinium*, or perhaps at times to more distant *Glevum*, to which some of the by-roads lead. But *Corinium* was the larger and more important spot, and we

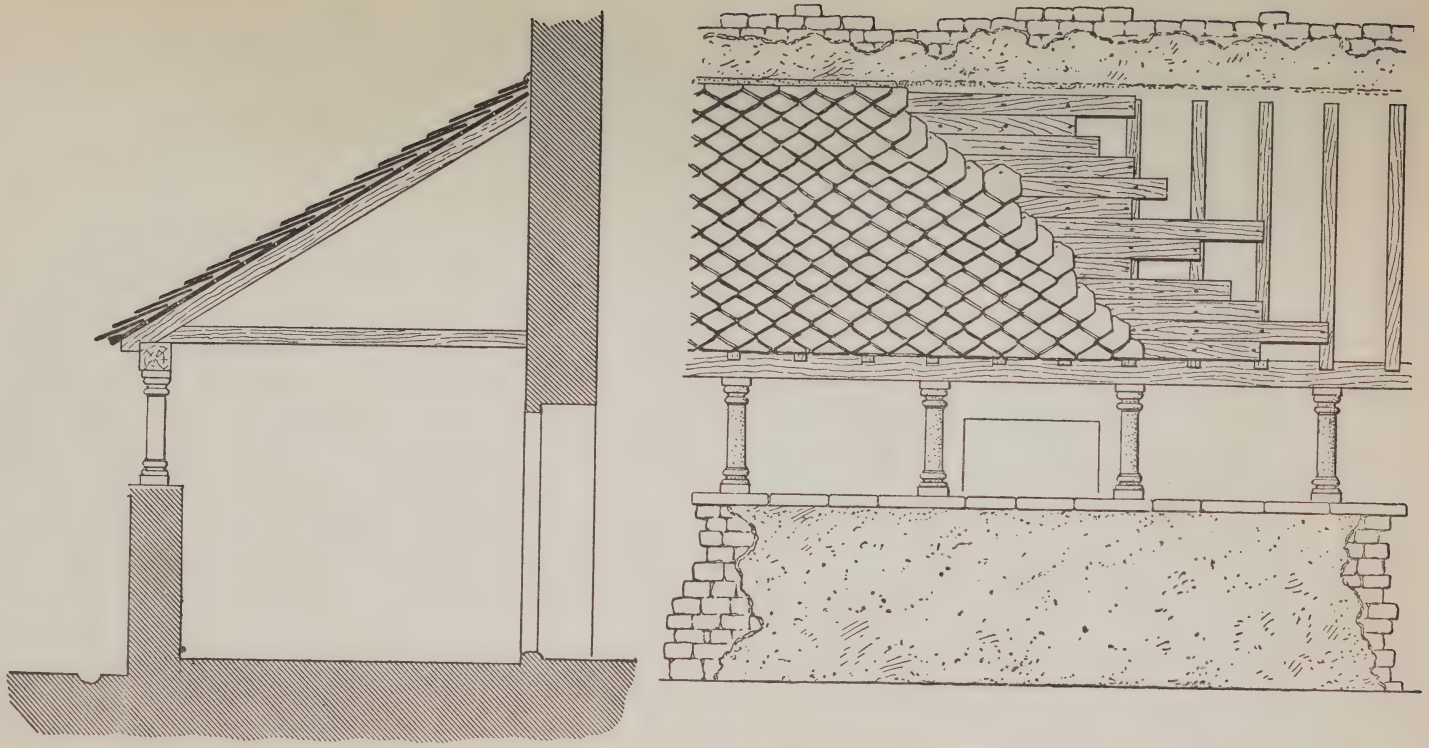

FIG. 33.—SECTION AND ELEVATION OF EXTERNAL CORRIDOR OF HOUSE
Modified from Middleton's restoration (about 5 ft. to 1 in.)

can picture to ourselves the now deserted amphitheatre filled on occasion by the "county people" when some special performance was to take place. Chedworth Villa was discovered accidentally by a gamekeeper digging after a rabbit, and has been most carefully excavated and covered with sheds—in fact, is looked after as a place of such national importance should be looked after, whereas Spoonley, when the present writer visited it, some twenty years ago, was falling to bits as a pheasant-rearing spot. Spoonley was a villa of some size and importance, and a marble figure of Bacchus found in Spoonley wood may perhaps have come from this house. Chedworth, therefore,

FIG. 34.—DOMESTIC BATHS, SPOONLEY WOOD AND CHEDWORTH (30 ft. to 1 in.)
The capital letters indicate the various rooms. Hyp.: subjacent hypocaust

will better repay description, and the Roman who chose this spot for his residence certainly was not devoid of taste, for the view from the front of the house can hardly be beaten, even in a country of beautiful vistas like the Cotswolds.

It was a self-contained house with a number of rooms and a complete set of baths for the family. There was a wing, also provided with its own set of baths, for the attendants, who must have been numerous, since there evidently was even a forge as well as every other necessity for carrying on rural life attached to the house. There is

a fish pool in one corner of the garden, in which the fish caught in the stream near by might be kept until needed for the table. It is thought that this was the country house of the Prefect of the Province, the central administra-

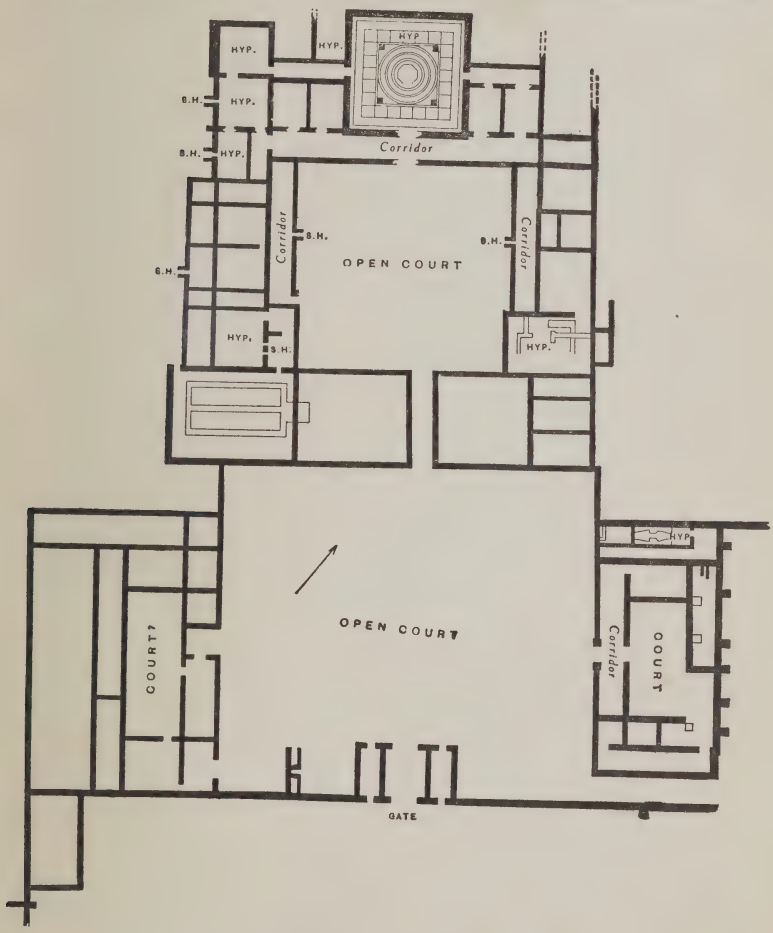

FIG. 35.—PLAN OF HOUSE AT WOODCHESTER (80 ft. to 1 in.)
The courtyard type of house. Hyp. : Subjacent hypocaust

tion of which was at *Corinium*, and certainly for a time at least it was the habitation of Christians, for the Chi-Rho monogram has been found on several objects which may be seen in the little museum attached to the villa. In and

around these villas the visitor may occasionally pick up, as the present writer has done, the shells of the large white edible snail, *Helix pomatia*, which the Romans loved to eat, but did not, as commonly supposed, introduce to the country, where they existed long before Claudius came to it. Numbers of oyster shells, also to be found, proclaim their affection for that shellfish and the fact that they provided themselves with it even in the depths of the country.

The courtyard type of villa was only used for the houses of wealthy people, and, as its name signifies, it was an erection of three or four sides around a central court—in fact, something not wholly unlike the typical Italian house. Around the inner aspect, i.e. facing the court, was a corridor from which the various rooms were entered. Woodchester, near Stroud, and also in the Cotswold district, is a fine example of this kind of villa. Here the courtyard was ninety feet square and there were sixty-four rooms. One of the finest of these was forty-eight feet ten inches square and the centrepiece of its tessellated pavement was twenty-five feet in diameter. Nothing can afford a better idea of the settled character of the Roman occupation than the existence of such splendid edifices nor of the disaster to civilization caused by the descent of the pagan and uncivilized northern hordes.

An interesting question arises as to whether the British villas were more than one story in height. The walls as we find them are all of a dwarf character and curiously similar in height, so that the upper parts of the buildings may very probably have been of timber. But whether there was more than a ground floor cannot be told. The internal walls were plastered and adorned with paintings, but none of an elaborate character have been discovered in Britain. It is otherwise with the tessellated pavements, of which a large number have been uncovered, and of these some description must now be given. In the first place, it must be remembered that the Romans were just as solicitous to put in central heating as are people living in North America,

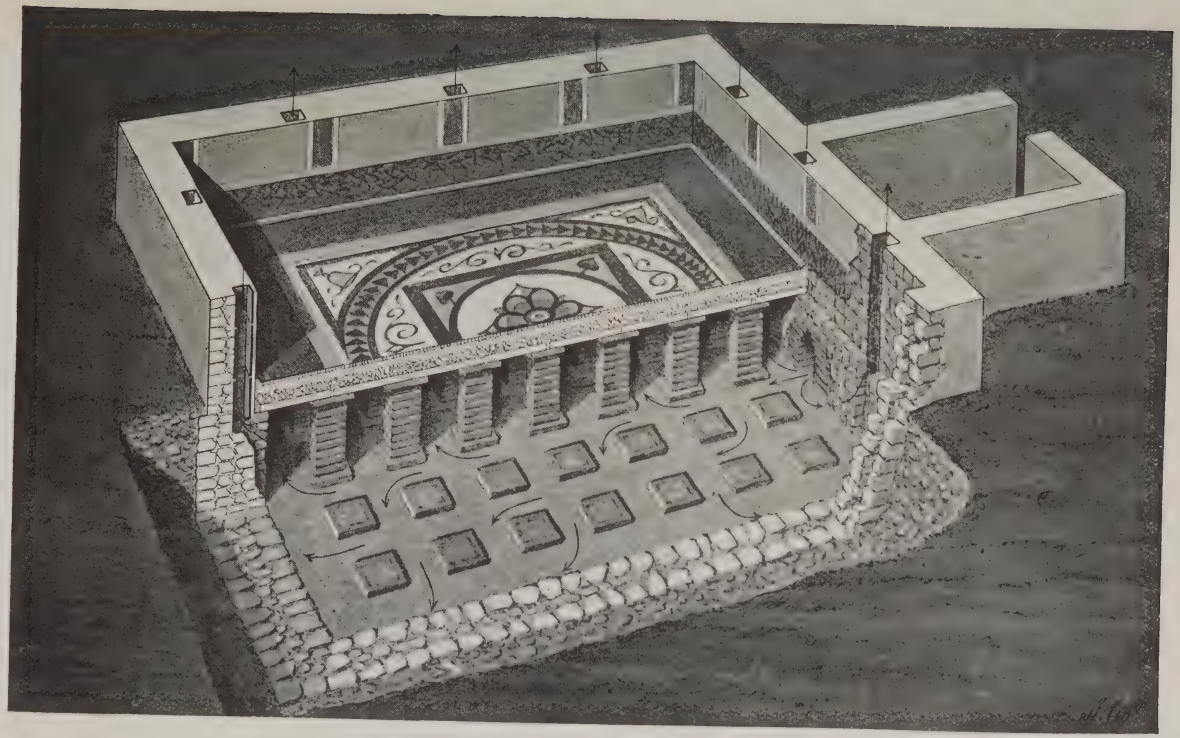

FIG. 36.—DIAGRAMMATIC VIEW OF A ROOM WITH HALF ITS FLOOR REMOVED TO SHOW THE HYPOCAUST
On the right is the Furnace House. The layers forming the Floor are shown and the Flue-tiles

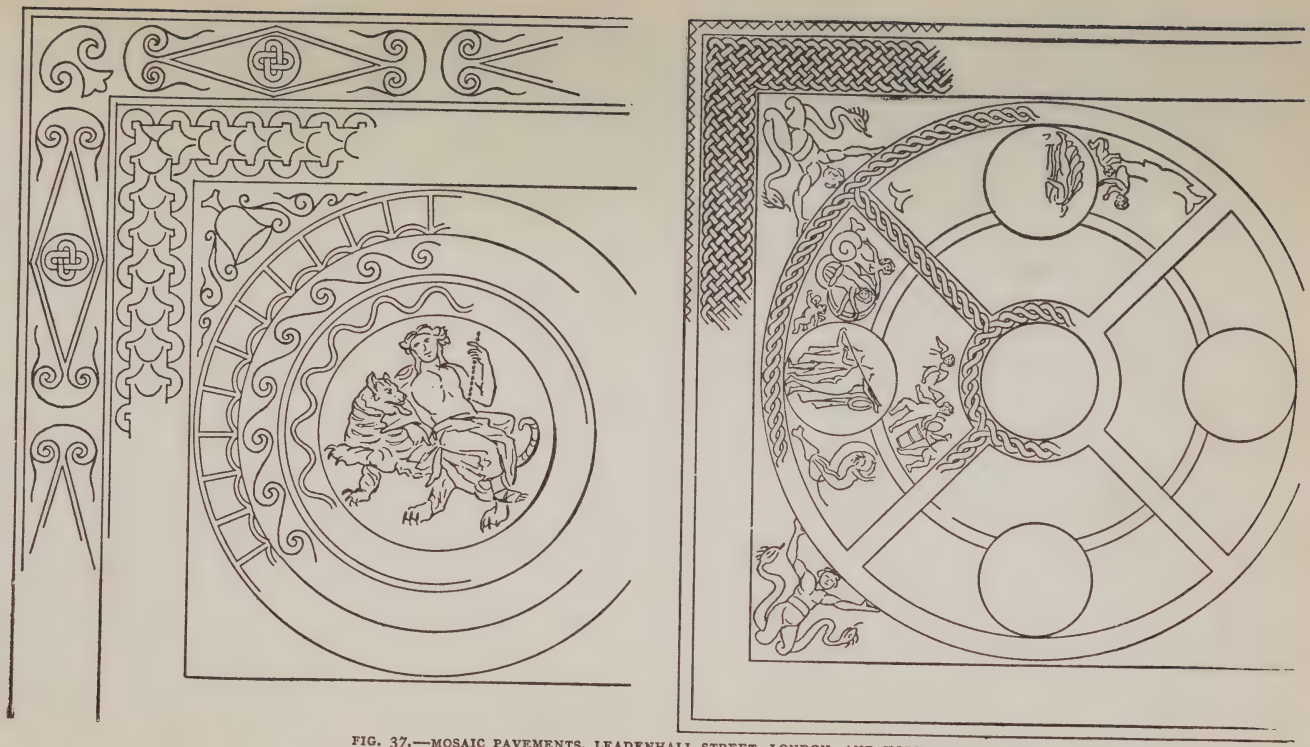

FIG. 37.—MOSAIC PAVEMENTS, LEADENHALL STREET, LONDON, AND HORKSTON

but the methods adopted are very different. The Romans knew all about lead piping, and had rising mains, even with expansion boxes, to supply their houses with water, but they never had anything like a hot water or steam-heating arrangement. Their scheme was to make a furnace below the level of the ground floor and outside the house. The heat from this passed into a series of low chambers under the floors of the rooms, which were called "hypocausts," and at Chedworth the first of these are under the rooms used for the baths. The floor itself was supported on pillars, perhaps, as at Chedworth, made of the local oolite; perhaps of heaps of flat tiles. On these was laid a floor of tiles, on which reposed the sheet of concrete which formed the basis of the pavement. This was of a type with which every one is familiar in hotels, and many other places where there is much traffic. The materials used in the Cotswolds for tessaræ employed in the working out of the patterns were chalk for white, oolite for cream, another variety of the same for yellow, the same fired for grey, tile or brick for red, chocolate, old red sandstone, slate and black, lias. Glass was rarely employed, though some of a ruby colour is to be found in a pavement in the museum at Cirencester.

The patterns are worked out in these unpromising materials with great skill. Figures such as the four seasons often fill the corners. Then guilloche, key-fret, and other patterns form a border, and in the centre is a further group of figures or ornaments. Orpheus surrounded by a ring of animals and birds is a common scene, and some have thought that where it is found there is an indication of a Christian household. No doubt the scene in question was used as a symbol of Christ drawing all men to Him, but there does not seem any reason to suppose that wherever found in Britain it had this significance. Christian symbols have, however, been found on pavements at Frampton (Wilts), Horstow (Lincs), and Thruxton. Such pavements as these were beautiful, lasting, easily kept clean, and,

when necessary, warm from the heat in the subjacent hypocaust. This escaped through a series of hollow flue tiles which ran up the sides of the wall, presumably in the plaster with which they were covered. Thus the margin of the roof must have presented a ring of small chimneys. How were they swept, being so small as they were? The reply is not at all, for they did not need it. All the fuel used was wood, and that does not make the thick soot that coal does. From this method of construction it will be gathered that not only the floors but also the walls of the rooms, and even those of the upper story, if there was one, were warmed, so that there is every reason to suppose that the Roman method of central heating kept its contrivers quite comfortable during the cold winters of the northern island. The discovery of these pavements is always an index of a place of settled domestic character, and therefore it will be interesting to note that none has been found further north than the Vale of York, nor further west than at Llantwit, near Cowbridge, in Glamorganshire, and at Ely, near Cardiff.

The life of the residents in these houses must, with the necessary differences entailed by climate and such things, have been very like the life led in villas in Italy. The inhabitants bathed, eat, amused themselves, slept, engaged no doubt in sport of various kinds, led in fact a pleasant country life very much like their representatives the squires of a later day. Let us turn to those who lived around them, the villagers as we should now call them, and consider their condition. We must differentiate between the slaves and the *coloni*. The former, at least in Italy, were often very unlike anything we think of as slaves; indeed they were frequently far better bred and educated than their owners. When the Achæan League was broken up in Greece, some ten thousand of the most intelligent and well-educated Greeks were practically made slaves, and amongst them was the historian Polybius.

Such people were not set to the type of work commonly

assigned to slaves, but became the stewards and managers of their owners' estates in some cases, their doctors in others. In fact, they became the companions of their owners and in many cases their freedmen. It was from this class that Trimalchio came.

The slave was nevertheless his master's chattel, and could not contract a legal marriage, nor could he regain by legal process any property which might have been taken from him. Whether there were any slaves of this class in Roman Britain cannot be stated, but that some of the owners of villas may have brought favourite and trusted slaves with them is quite likely, and we may feel sure that they had slaves of the ordinary labouring kind who cultivated their estates in company with the *coloni*. These *coloni* were not slaves, and are carefully distinguished from them by the code of laws, some imperial constitutions alluding to them as *Ingenui*. A *Colonus* could contract a legal marriage, but he must first obtain his master's permission. He could hold property, but he could not alienate it without permission from the same source. He was, in the second century at any rate, still a tenant paying rent and able to leave at the termination of his lease. Yet, like a slave, his master could personally punish him. Later on the attachment to the land becomes much more strict, so much so that the colonus could not escape his duties even by enlisting, and when one remembers the need of soldiers always felt by the empire one understands the closeness of the bond and the appropriateness of the term of *Servi Terræ* which was applied to them. Under these conditions the proprietor of the land not only could but must sell the colonus with the land if he parted with that. But, on the other hand, he could not detach the colonus from the soil and sell him as he could a slave. Even under these semi-servile conditions the colonus paid rent generally in kind, and that rent his landlord or proprietor could not raise above what had been customary.

It is impossible to consider this condition of affairs without being reminded of the almost identical position of the villeins in later times. They were said to be *adscripti glebæ*, and the mutual relations between owner and tenant were on the lines indicated above. Some, like Seebohm, have been inclined to think that the manorial system which still exists in name, though the reality has disappeared, was the direct lineal descendant of the villa system of Roman times, but the thesis, though a fascinating one, can hardly be sustained. Amongst other things there is not, so far as the present writer knows, a single instance of a manor centring round a villa or the place occupied by a villa, at least where there is any trace of connexion between the two. The conditions were very similar, but probably they were those which would naturally arise at a certain stage of development and under given conditions. The change from Roman to Saxon conditions put back the clock of civilization for several hundred years, and when the cycle came round the conditions were repeated. How far village life was affected by contact with Roman civilization is a matter worthy of some consideration. Naturally we should expect that in what would, in later days, have been called a squirearchical village things would be much more Romanized than in remoter spots. Yet even here we meet with curious conflicting facts.

The lake village at Meare, near Glastonbury, ran at least 200 years into the period of Roman occupation, and it was situated in a county where Roman influence was very strong. Yet the village was but little affected by it, and even retained that which had faded out elsewhere under the influence of the conquerors—its own characteristic Keltic art. Sir Robert Colt Hoare, that active antiquary of the eighteenth century, made a number of investigations into British villages of the Roman era, and tells us that he had found stuccoed and painted walls and hypocausts in the "rude settlements of the Britons." His successor, of course a far more scientific explorer, the late General Pitt

Rivers, made the same discoveries in the village at Woodcuts in Dorset, which he excavated with such care, and for which he created a museum close by in the depths of the country. Whether that museum still exists I cannot say, but a visit to it after an investigation of the remains of the village outside was one of the most enlightening experiences possible. The village itself was surrounded by a ditch and some of the houses were little more than pit dwellings, the descendants of those of an earlier period. But there were also houses, some circular, some square, with rude but effective hypocausts and even with ornamental plastering, both things learnt from the Romans. There, too, were found amongst other samples of pottery pieces of " Samian " ware, glass, relics of wooden chests of drawers, and many other objects. Some similar villages have been met with in the Thames Valley between Oxford and Wallingford, and they are not isolated examples. But all these were in the midst of thoroughly Romanized districts; there were other villages much outside the regular Roman sphere of influence which yet were affected by its civilization. For example, the north-east corner of the island of Anglesey is not the place where one would expect to find such influence in evidence, yet a village has been investigated there in which a great diversity of Roman objects, including " Samian " pottery, was found.

Here also something may be said about the extraordinary finds at Traprain Law in Haddingtonshire, on a northern outlier of the Lammermuirs, described by Mr. Curle. The village here covers some sixty acres and appears to have been at its maximum during the third and fourth centuries. Originally it was a Keltic village, and during that time Roman objects made an entrance, such as pottery, both British and " Samian," fibulæ and other bronze ornaments, jet armlets and rings, with iron spearheads and other implements of the same metal. At the bottom of one of the rubbish pits found around all these villages were coins of Valens and Gratian, and in fact there were finds, especially

pottery, of objects made long after Roman soldiery had ceased to live in that part of the island. Mention of this place can hardly be made without any note of the very remarkable find of silver objects crushed and hidden in a pit, including vessels with scriptural scenes engraved upon them and Christian emblems such as Alpha and Omega. With these were some interesting silver spoons with birds' heads and dolphins for handles, and bowls and other things. It seems quite clear that this was not a case of local loot, but probably the spoils were those of some church, very likely in Gaul, brought to the village by northern pirates, who may have been for the time occupying it, and crushed with the intention of being sent to the melting pot. Pending a fuller account of these objects it does not seem as if they had any connexion with the Roman occupation. So much for the life in these villages : what was the tongue spoken in them ? One can hardly doubt that in the main it was a Keltic tongue, probably something like Welsh, and it is likely that after the legions left this may have been the only language spoken, in the country parts at least. Yet Latin must to some extent have been understood. At Ickleton in Norfolk there was found in the remains of a farm-house a drinking vessel on which was *scratched*, not embossed, " *ex hac amici bibunt* "—friends drink from this—a hospitable thought and placed on the vessel by someone on the farm we must suppose and acquainted to that extent with Latin. The departure of the legions must have made comparatively little difference to these villagers, and, where the barbarians did not descend on them we can imagine them continuing their lowly way of life uninterrupted for many years.

CHAPTER XII

HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS, INCLUDING POTTERY AND GLASS

IT is obvious that many of the things which the Romans possessed and of which we should like to see examples must have perished utterly—most things made of wood and practically all textiles, for instance. It is surprising how many things we have considering the centuries which have passed since the occupation and the various storms of civilization which have rolled over the country during that time, not to speak of the even more destructive operations of ages of peace and ignorance, when the title-deeds of antiquity were valued chiefly as building material or road metal. Amongst the objects of which we really have large store pottery and in somewhat smaller measure glass are in the front rank. Of course a good deal of the pottery is broken—" the handle came off in my hands," no doubt was an explanation proffered by the female slave in those days as it has been by domestic treasures ever since. And equally of course a great deal must have been broken in the destruction of houses and towns which followed on the barbarian invasions. But the practice of burying objects with the dead has preserved much uninjured, and other pieces have been found so that we can form an excellent idea of the kind of things which found a place in the Roman lady's British China Closet. Not that there was any such thing as " china " in those days ; but then the majority of things in our china closets of to-day have no real right to that title. There was no porcelain, to be more accurate, nor was there any of what we call " stone-

ware," but there was plenty of domestic and imported earthenware, as to which a good deal may be said. There were, as we have seen, regular shops for the sale of pottery at *Corstorpitum*, for example, and at *Calleva*, and no doubt in other towns. And there were a number of places where pottery making was carried on—the great potteries on the Nen, near Peterborough, at Castor, and Chesterton; a great many in the New Forest; at other isolated places, such as the pottery factory at Holt, near Wrexham. This is particularly interesting, first of all, because there seems no doubt that it was the private pottery station of the Twentieth Legion at *Deva*, no very great distance off; and secondly, because of its remarkably complete condition. In this large factory there were round and beehive kilns, as well as tile kilns with fifteen feet square floors. The arches of the fire-holes were nearly six feet in height. One of the kilns was eighteen feet square and was heated by two parallel flues with cross channels and upcasts. A building with a hypocaust had been used as a drying room. The preservation of the flues beneath both the circular and rectangular kilns was so perfect that models have been made showing exactly how the kilns operated and proving that they very remarkably forestall the principles on which modern examples are worked. The Roman pottery was made on the wheel, for that remarkable adjunct to the potter's art came into Britain with the Early Iron culture. Further, the Romans were acquainted with that implement known as the potter's lathe, so that they had practically all the methods to their hand which are utilized in modern works. The simplest pots were made of plain clay, uncoloured and usually unornamented in any way, and of this class is the so-called "Salopian" pottery—an ugly dull white ware. Of this kind of pottery many objects were made, such as household beakers and utensils of various kinds, babies' bottles, or *tetinæ*, of which many have been found, and so on. Another coarse form of pottery is met with in the *mortaria*, or "overhanging rim"

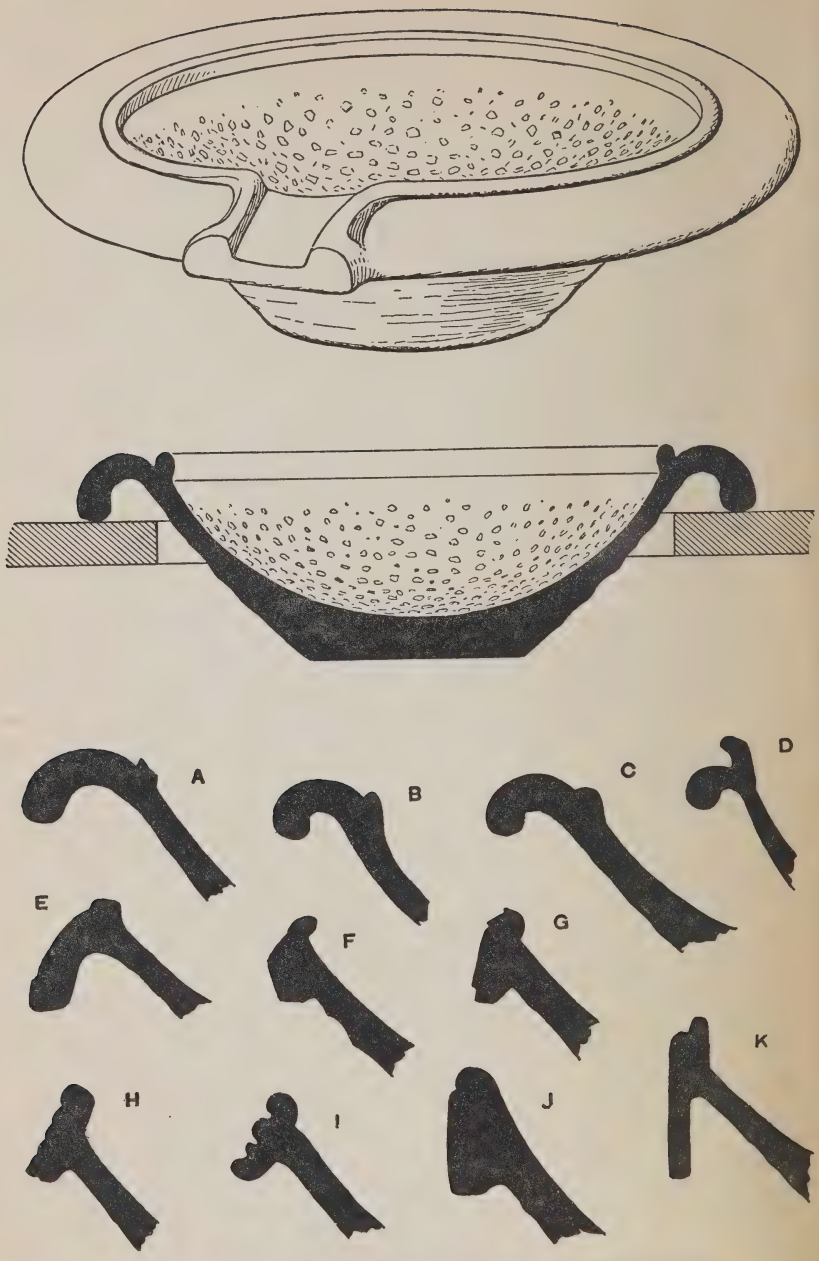

FIG. 38.—MORTARS (*Mor'aria, Pelves* [?]) IN ALL EARTHENWARE FABRICS
A—K, Sections of various forms of rims (all $\frac{1}{3}$)

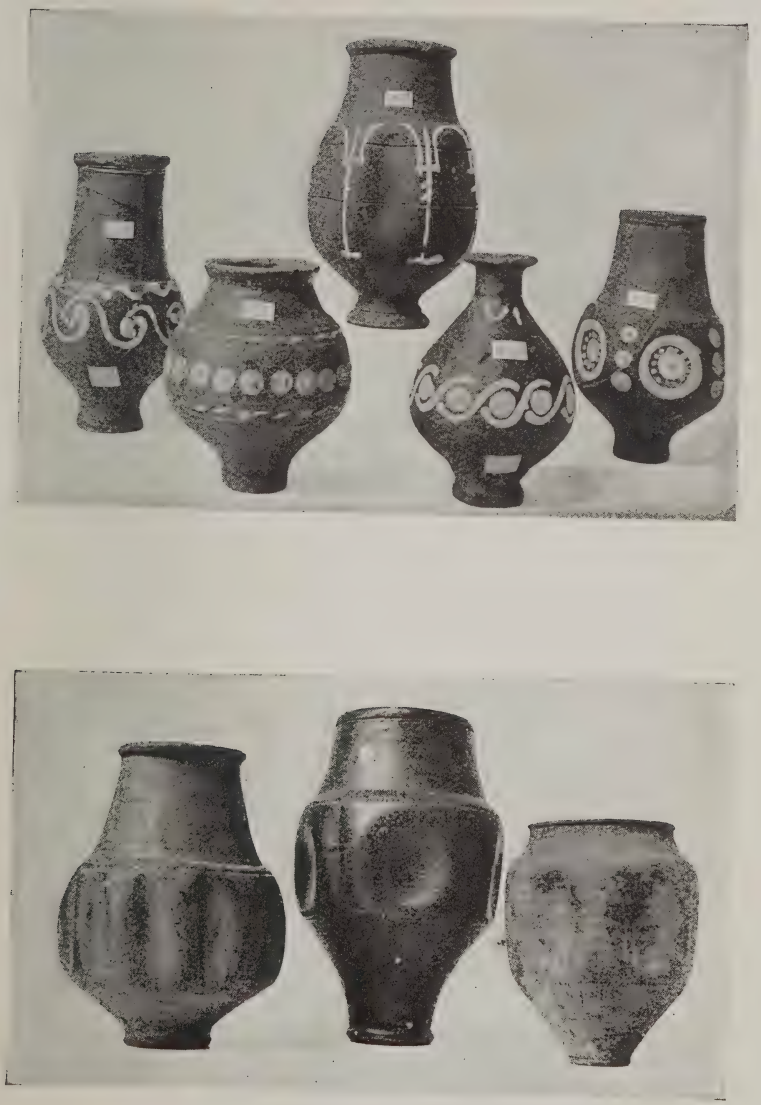

FIG. 39.—ROMAN POTTERY, COLCHESTER MUSEUM
The upper figures show " slip " ornaments ; the lower, black glaze

FIG. 40.—ROMAN POTTERY, COLCHESTER MUSEUM
"Slip" ornament above; "En Barbotine" below—Gladiators

pottery of Pitt Rivers. These were plain bowls with an overhanging rim which would prevent their conical bowls from slipping right through the hole in the table, which Mr. Ward supposed was made to accommodate them. In every one of these bowls there is set into the base on its upper surface some gritty substance, such as rough fragments of quartz or of iron slag, the object of which was to enable the cook to rub down the contents with the aid of a wooden pestle. These contents could then be poured out through the spout with which the vessel was provided. The somewhat better pottery, such as that made in the New Forest, for example, was often provided with a simple ornament, sometimes it was adorned with an incised pattern, sometimes with a colour wash of varied tints, sometimes with a glaze, and the black glaze was often of excellent quality. But even in native-made pottery there was a much more ambitious style of ornamentation. There was *appliqué* work like that familiar to us in the wedgwood work of to-day, and there was a type of vessel first coloured with a wash and then adorned with a pattern in a thin paste or "slip," a brush of some sort being used for the purpose. Thus with the graceful shapes which many of these vases and other vessels possessed, and with a free ornament, a very pleasing piece of pottery was the result. But the best examples of adornment are those *en barbotine*, where a thicker stream of paste was poured out upon the vessel and moulded into forms of different kind in fairly high relief. Probably this paste was ejected through a quill, and the process may be compared with that by which cakes are ornamented to-day with flowing lines or even words in coloured sugar or chocolate. Substitute a vessel for the cake and paste for the chocolate and the two systems are identical.

Here real artistic skill was necessary, and the workman must have his whole plan clearly before him. The paste must be fairly thick, otherwise it would "run"; it must be rapidly and finally moulded, or it would "set" before

the work was accomplished; and of course the work was free-hand and not moulded by an impressing block. The Colchester vase is a fine example of this work, and represents a man with a great dog, gladiators, and hounds chasing deer and hare. This method of adornment is common on what is called "Castor" ware made at *Durobrivæ*. It seems probable that this kind of ware originally came to Britain from the Rhine. It is generally thought to have been largely made at Cologne in the second century.

There is a freedom about some of this art which seems to mark its creators as possessed of the Keltic spirit if not belonging to that race, and there is a great contrast between this kind of ornamentation and that of the next kind of pottery, which was not, like all the others mentioned so far, made in Britain. This used to be called "Samian," and that term must still be remembered since it is employed in many books and even museums. *Arretine* or *Terra Sigillata* are names more generally employed to-day, and the latter is given to it on account of the fact that it was the custom of the manufacturers of this kind of pottery to stamp their mark on the under surface, and thus distinguish their ware from that of other potters, just as is done by makers of china to-day. This kind of pottery seems first to have made its appearance about the middle of the second century B.C., perhaps at Samos, and was made of a red local clay which, on baking, became of a bright coral colour. It was covered with a very fine glaze made of silica, oxide of iron, and some unknown alkaloid.

As far as Rome was concerned Arrezzo, the ancient *Arretium* (hence the other name given above), was the chief place of manufacture, whilst the specimens in Britain mostly came from potteries along the Rhine.

This kind of pottery was ornamented with patterns or figures in low relief. Occasionally a sprig and leaf on a vinegar cup shows some freedom of execution, but for the most part the designs are of the usual Roman stiffness, though the shapes of the vessels are often very graceful.

FIG. 41.—SAMIAN OR ARRETINE BOWL—TERRA SIGILLATA, COLCHESTER MUSEUM

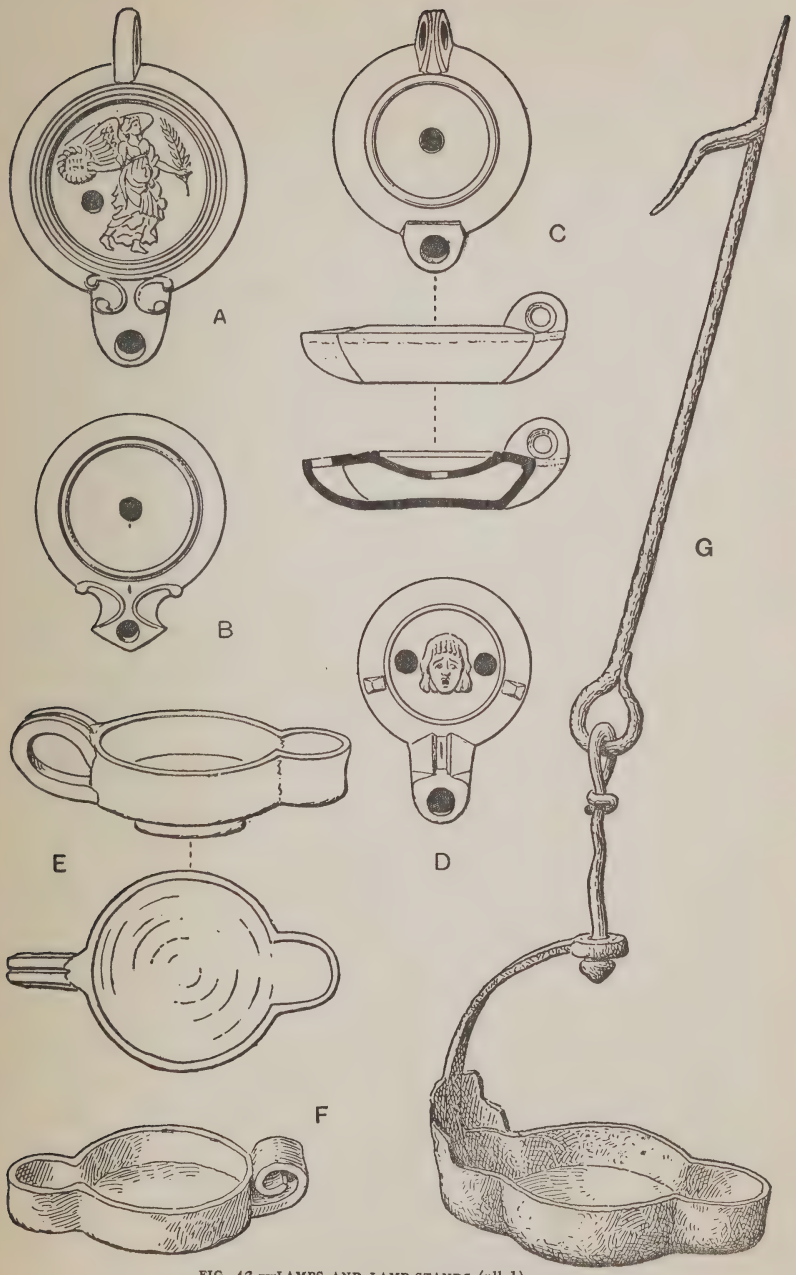

FIG. 42.—LAMPS AND LAMP-STANDS (all ⅓)
A, D, Earthenware; E, Earthen; F, Lead; G, Iron Lamp Stands

That this pottery was highly valued and probably expensive is shown by two facts: first a number of specimens which have been broken and subsequently riveted have been found, and we may feel quite sure that only the rarity of the vessel would have induced such an expenditure to have been undertaken. In the second place, the flattery of imitation was paid to it, for there was a native pseudo-Samian made of a red clay, or of other clay, with a thin red covering and a glaze, but both in colour and in glaze very inferior to the true continental article. No one could have mistaken one for the other, but very likely those who could not afford the foreign article put up with the native product.

We must not pass from the question of pottery without some mention of the Roman lamp, as it is called, though the Mediterranean lamp would be a more suitable term, for it was used all round that great inland sea and for many centuries. The figures will give an idea of what this kind of lamp is like. It had a small central hole in what we may call its roof, through which oil could be introduced, and at one end was a larger hole, through which the wick protruded. At the other end was the handle by which it was carried. Occasionally these lamps were made in bronze, but common red or brown pottery was the material most usually employed. One thing is common to all of them, namely, that they could only contain a very moderate supply of oil, and so there were small pottery receptacles, sometimes shaped like a bird through whose beak the oil could be poured out, which could be carried about with a further supply in their interiors. The details of the parable of the Five Wise and Five Foolish Virgins will naturally occur to anyone reading the above account, and in fact the kind of lamp which is now under description is that of which our Lord was speaking on that occasion. Thousands of these have been found in Britain and no one can visit a museum of Roman remains without seeing a number of them.

The Romans were skilled workers in glass, more so

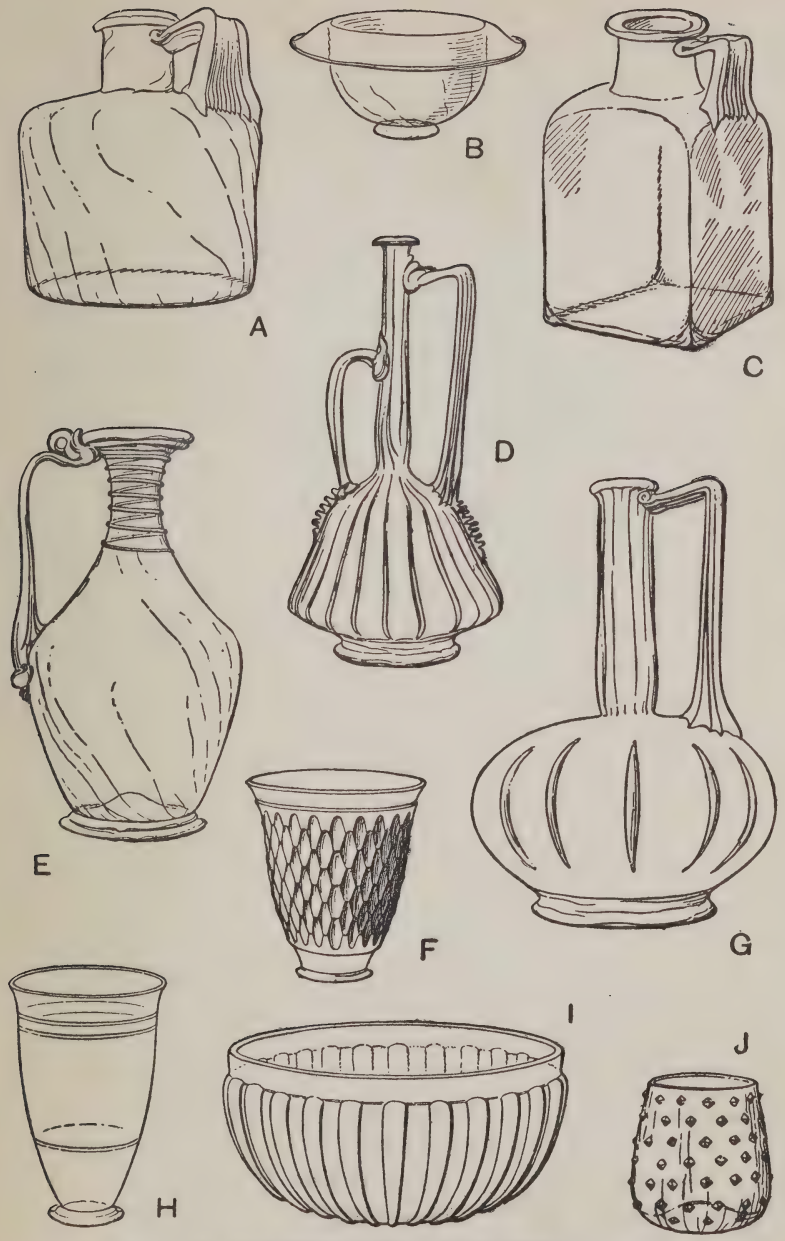

FIG. 43.—EXAMPLES OF ROMAN GLASS VESSELS ($\frac{1}{4}$)
A, C, Mortuary; F, cut with Lapidary wheel; I, Gadrooned; J, Appliqué nail ornament

abroad than in Britain, it would appear, and most of the fine examples which have been discovered in our country were probably of foreign origin, though glass factories have been described as existing in Britain. Even more breakable than pottery, it is wonderful how much glass has been preserved, and of course this is due to the fact that much of it was buried with the dead and thus escaped destruction. This is not merely true of the stocky, square, heavy handled glass vessels which were made to contain the ashes of the dead (see Fig. 43, A and C), but also of much finer examples placed with the remains of the dead as accompanying gifts.

Very graceful flagons and vessels of that kind exist ornamented with threads and bands of glass laid on in a semi-molten state. A gadrooned or pillared bowl is a common type, and this is often coloured, sometimes deep blue, sometimes full green, amber, or mulberry. In some cases the coloured glass was applied in threads or bands, sometimes in little nail-head ornaments. In spite of their range of colours both for glass of this kind and that used in their windows and verandas, the Romans had no clear red glass, but they had many others, and they employed copper, iron, manganese, antimony, and probably cobalt in their manufacture. Further, they were acquainted with the use of the lapidary's wheel. It is difficult, owing to their great variety, to give any brief account of the numerous objects of daily domestic use in the highly complex Roman civilization without appearing to rival the " Mail Catalogue of a Departmental Store," but some attempt must be made if the life of the time is to be understood, and further if the calamity to civilization due to the disappearance of Roman influence and the decivilizing action of the invaders from across the North Sea is properly to be comprehended.

Many people—probably most—baked their own bread, and many of them no doubt ground their own corn, and the Romans imported grindstones for this purpose from the lava beds of Nidermendig, near Andernach, in the Eifel district, making for the purpose the deep excavations into

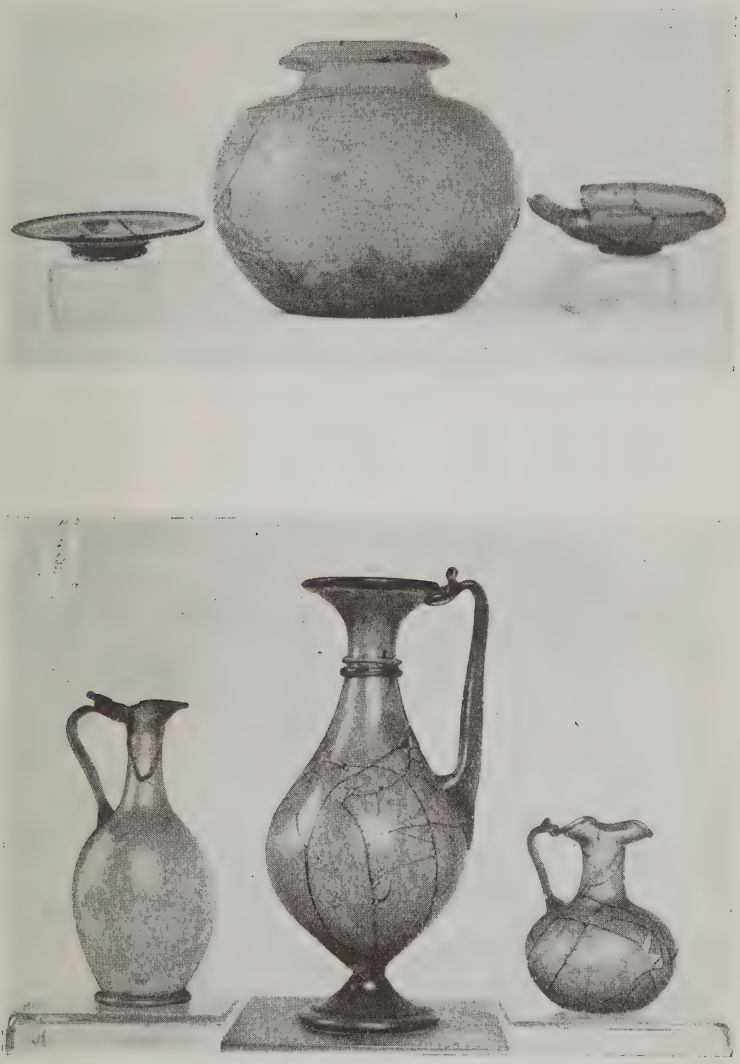

FIG 44.—ROMAN GLASS-WARE, MAIDSTONE MUSEUM

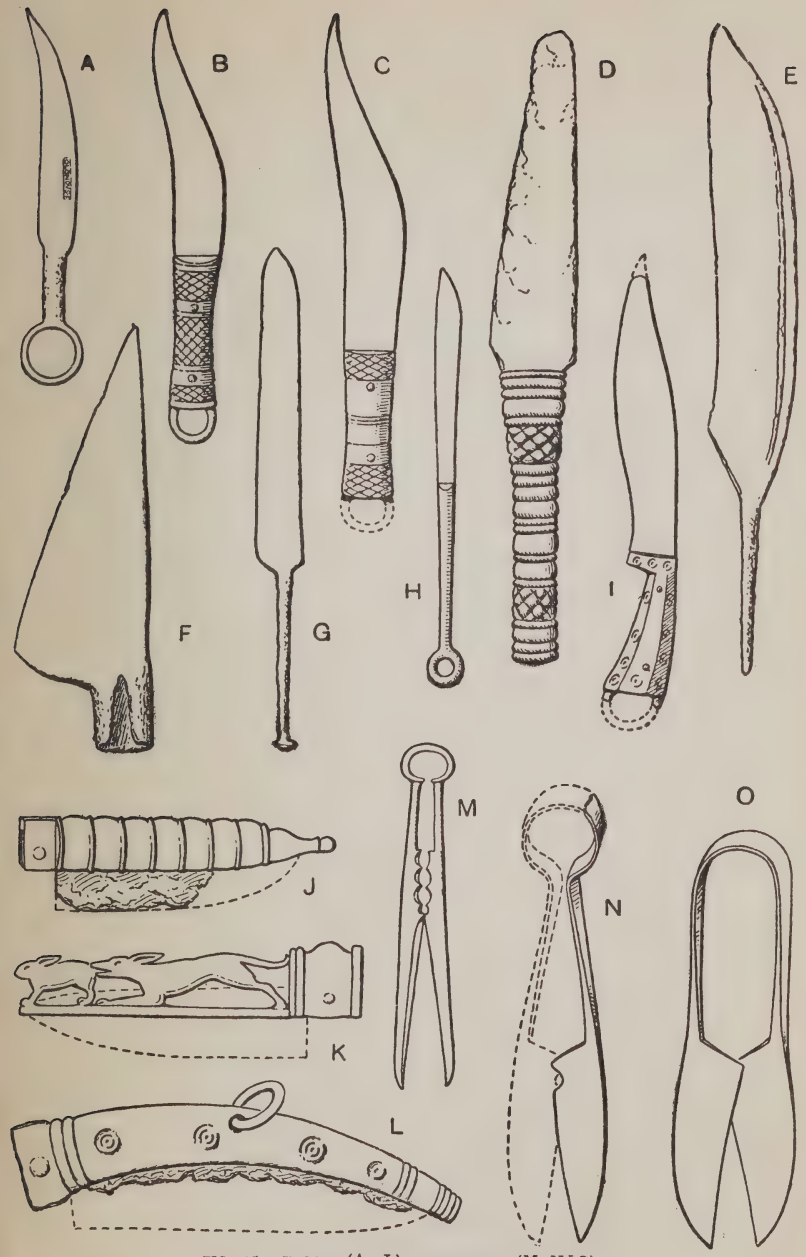

FIG. 45.—KNIVES (A—L) AND SHEARS (M, N, O)
(J, K, L, ⅛; the rest ¼)

which one used to descend in order to see the subterranean chambers where lager beer was kept cool. The Romans made and used all sorts of iron implements, pickaxes, scythes, and crowbars; all extraordinarily like their modern representatives. There were tools in the same metal, chisels, gouges, and the like; steelyards to weigh and hooks to hang up the meat; pocket knives often with the figure of some animal along the back and differing from ours in having neither spring nor nail-groove (see J, K, and L, in Fig. 45). Spurs for fighting-cocks show the Roman attachment to that cruel pastime. Dice for gambling are common, and a draft board with other objects used in games found at Corbridge show that idle hours were passed much as we pass them. Figures of various kinds, like the little bronze Jupiter at Colchester or the dancing girl of the sixth century B.C. found not long ago during excavations at Lincoln's Inn, ornamented the houses; and when their owners returned home at night they let themselves in with lift-latchkeys of the kind whose ⊥-shaped openings are still to be seen in out-of-the-way places. And in the house padlocks and ordinary locks kept chests and cupboards from intruding hands. The commonest type of spoon was that with a bowl-shaped end, like our own, and a pointed handle. The former may have been for eating eggs; the latter was used to pick snails or perhaps whelks or other molluscs out of their shells, whence this kind of spoon was called "cochleare," from the cochlea or whorled shell. If a doctor wants to order two teaspoonfuls of a mixture to be taken and writes his prescription in Latin, he will set down the words "*Sumat duo cochlearia*," that is, two of these very snailspoonfuls, such as may be seen in the figure, A, B, C, D. E, F, G, are *ligulæ*, a narrower type of spoon; and H is a pickle fork or something of that kind. Fig. 48 shows some writing apparatus and the wall picture from Pompeii (A)—a very unexciting one—shows pen and ink-bottle; a parchment roll for writing on; a stylus and two writing tablets, one with several leaves.

FIG. 46.—BRONZE FIGURE OF JUPITER IN COLCHESTER MUSEUM

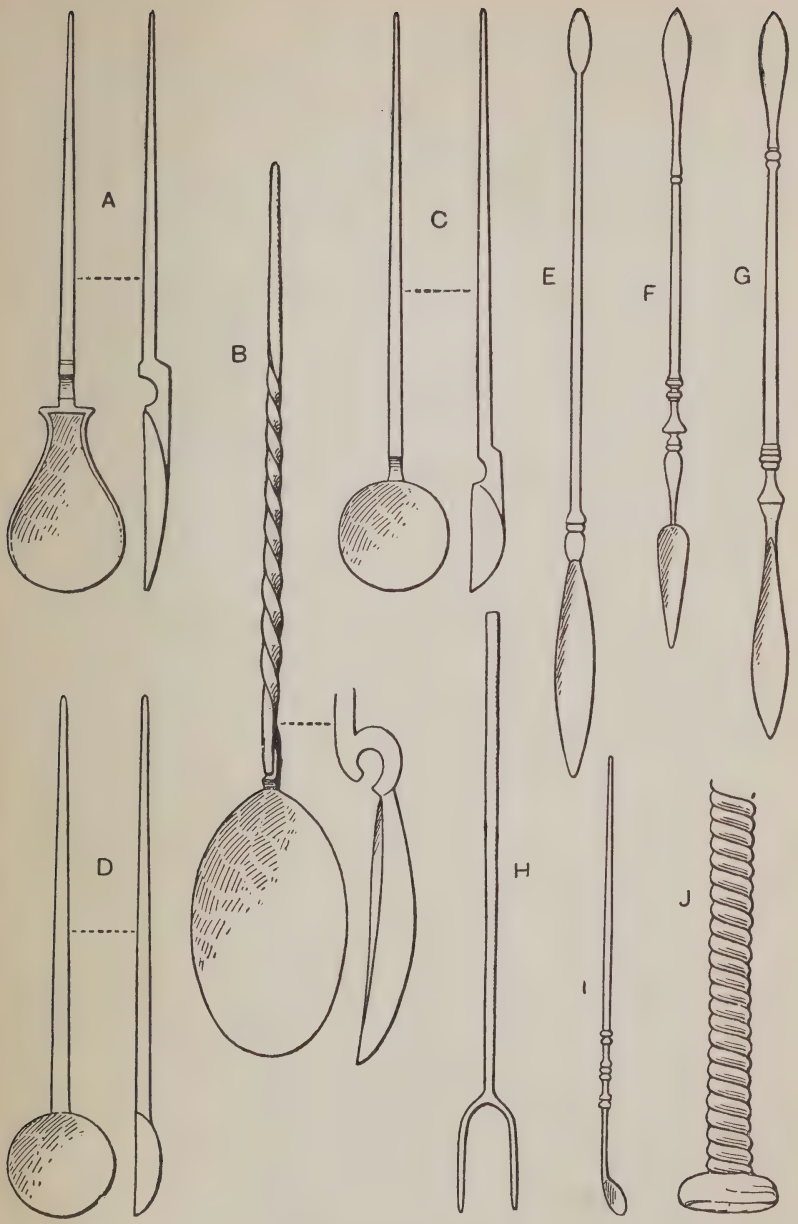

FIG. 47.—SPOONS, 'LIGULÆ," ETC.
(all $\frac{2}{3}$)

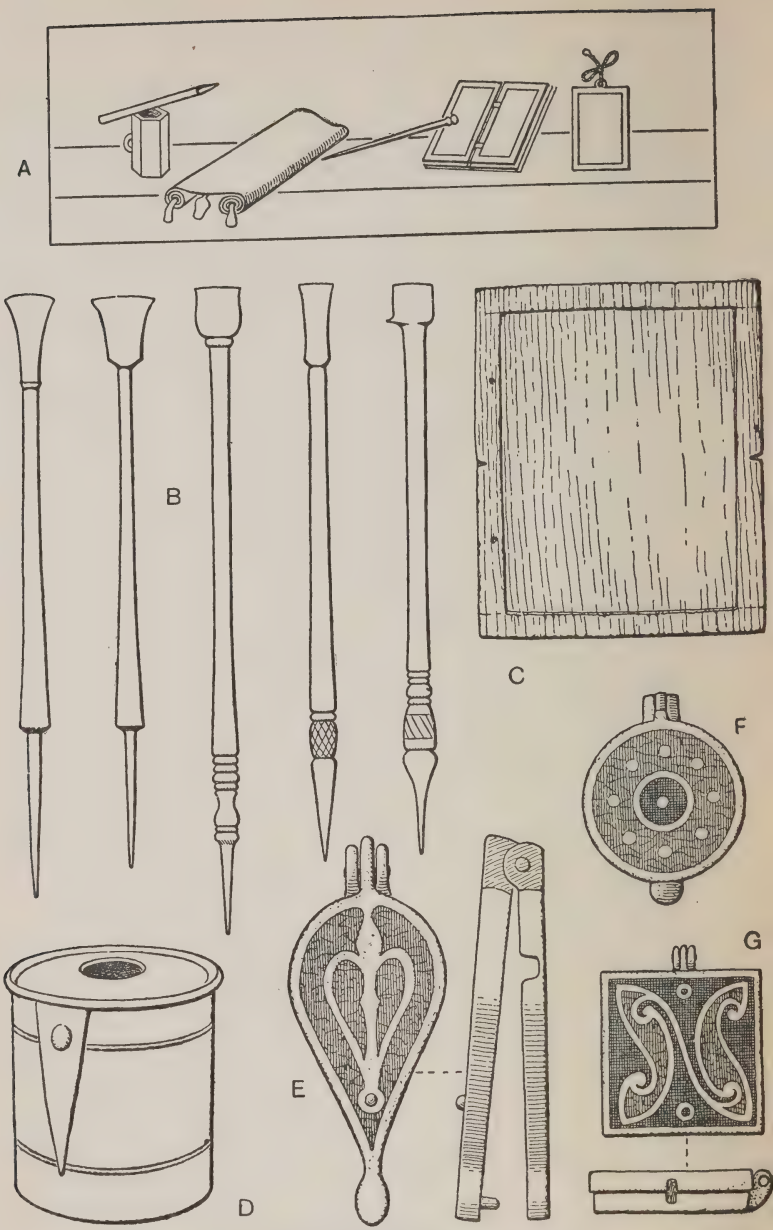

FIG. 48.—WRITING APPLIANCES AND SEAL-BOXES (E—G)
(B, D, $\frac{2}{3}$; C, $\frac{1}{3}$; E, F, G, $\frac{1}{2}$)

Turning to the actual from the pictured objects, D is an inkpot of bronze, and C is all that is left of a writing tablet, now a rare object, because having been made of wood, most of them have disappeared. The recessed part was filled with wax: the message was scratched thereon with the pointed end of the stylus (B). When the message had been read, the wax could be smoothed and made ready for another by using the flat end of the stylus. No carbon copies and no possibility of bringing love letters into court in cases of breach of promise of marriage. But a private letter could be sent, for there were what are called seal-boxes (E, F, G), which were made to contain a soft wax capable of taking the impression of a signet. Threads passed through this prevented the opening of the tablets without the destruction of the seal. Here again, of course, both the wax in the box and that in the tablets could be used and re-used.

As we have been dealing with wax and seals, this may be the best place to mention the oculists' stamps, several of which have been found in Britain. The quack was in Britain then as he is now, and he seems to have been much addicted to trading on eye troubles. Perhaps the acrid wood smoke may have escaped and irritated the eyes. At any rate it is the stamps of persons who sold " cure-alls " for the eyes which have come down to us. These stamps were made to impress upon soft wax and bore inscriptions singularly modern in sound. " The dialibanum of Doctor Tiberius Claudius good for all diseases of the eye, to be used with white of egg," is on a line with the " cure-alls," of to-day; and the " Invincible Nard " of Titus Vindax Ariovistus has so modern a sound that one wonders why it is not in use somewhere—perhaps it is. To begin with mirrors amongst personal possessions. Glass backed by shining metal, but not mercury as with us, was known to the Romans, but no example of a mirror of this kind has been found in Britain. The mirrors used in our country were of silver or white bronze, or the ordinary bronze covered with a white layer of tin, and generally were adorned with patterns on their

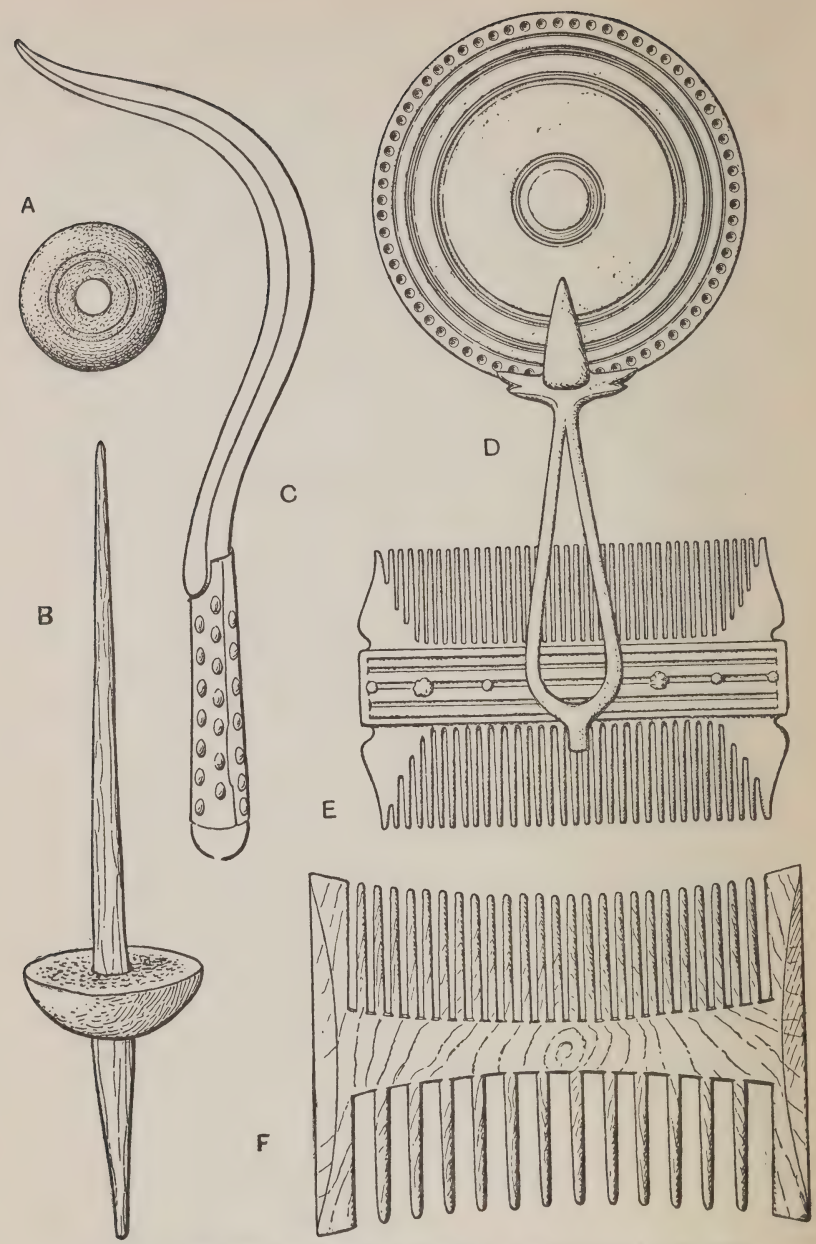

FIG. 49.—A, Spindle and B, Whorls; C, Strigil; D, Hand-mirror and E, F, Combs (C, $\frac{1}{2}$; the rest $\frac{2}{3}$)

FIG. 50.—PINS, TWEEZERS, NAIL-CLEANERS, AND EAR-PICKS
(all $\frac{2}{3}$)

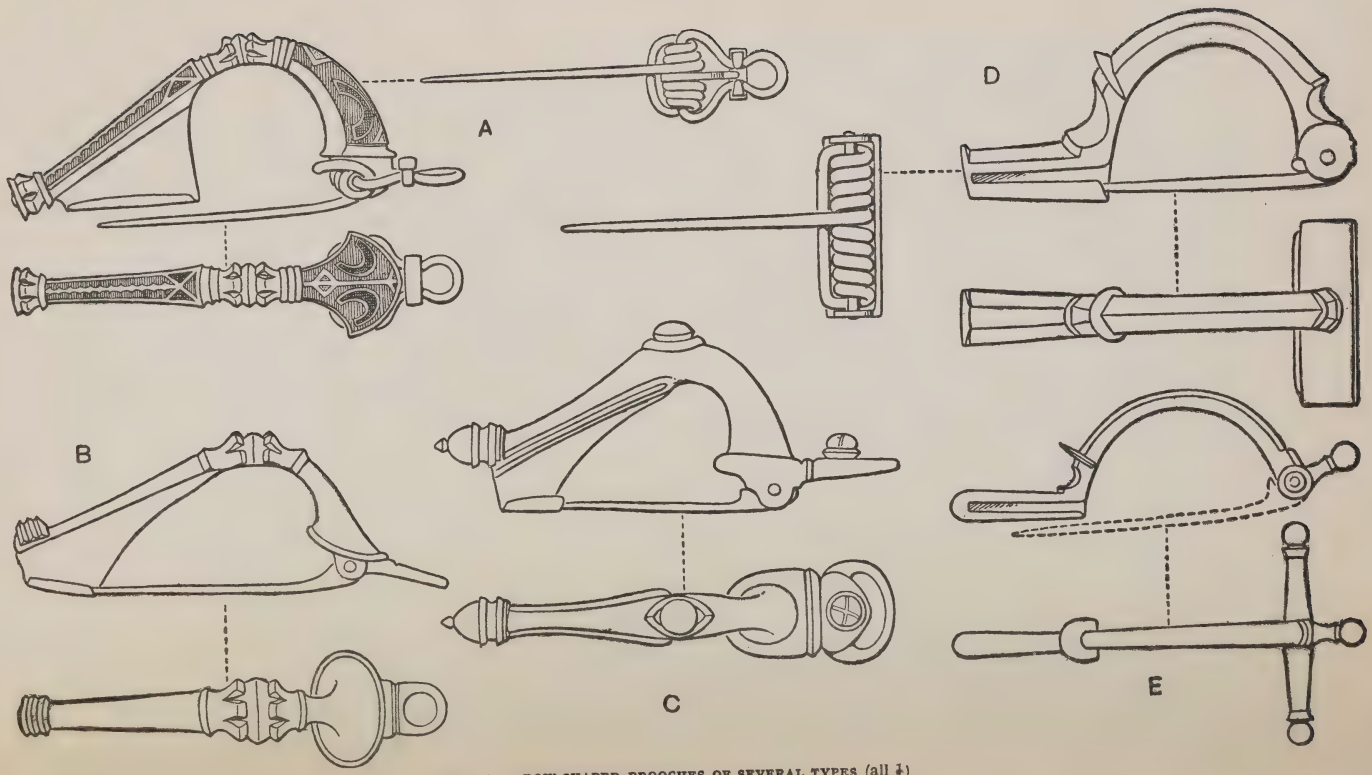

FIG. 51.—BOW-SHAPED BROOCHES OF SEVERAL TYPES (all $\frac{1}{1}$)

backs. When she did up her hair the Roman lady looked in one of these mirrors, shown from its back view in the figure, and below it are the combs which she employed. The other objects in this figure, which may be dismissed whilst we are considering it, are the strigil (C) used for scraping the flesh after the bath and (A) the whorl and (B) the spindle used in spinning wool. Figure 50 shows under A and B the pins which were used for the hair and for securing loose articles of dress, also other small personal objects, such as tweezers, nail-cleaners, and ear-picks, some of them quite surprisingly modern in their appearance.

Of course the garments of the time needed brooches to hold them in place, and there are a great variety of these objects, especially of the *fibula* or safety-pin type shown in Figure 51. But there were also ring and flat brooches, jet bangles made of Whitby jet and at times from the inferior black product of the Purbeck range, glass beads hung on strings, rings often with intaglios or engraved gems, the latter no doubt imported, as were perhaps the completed rings. In the outfall drain of the baths at Bath there were found thirty-three intaglios, which looks as if some jeweller had sustained a serious loss if they all went down the drain at the same time. We could hardly expect to find any remains of the clothes of the period though impressions of fabrics can be seen on the plaster which has enclosed dead bodies in the museum at York. But we have some of the foot-gear which has resisted decay, and examples will be found in Figure 52. A shows a child's shoe which has grown out of a sandal ; it is not unlike the sand-shoes which children wear to-day. B is a side-leather and C shows a punched ornamentation of that part of the shoe which may have been elegant, but scarcely serviceable in wet weather. Perhaps it was only for indoor use, like shoes of to-day of an ornate character. D is a more workaday article for a child ; E is a stout shoe with perforated sides, and F a more elaborate form of the same type ; G has several loops for fastening the shoe ; and H is almost the familiar moccasin form. The

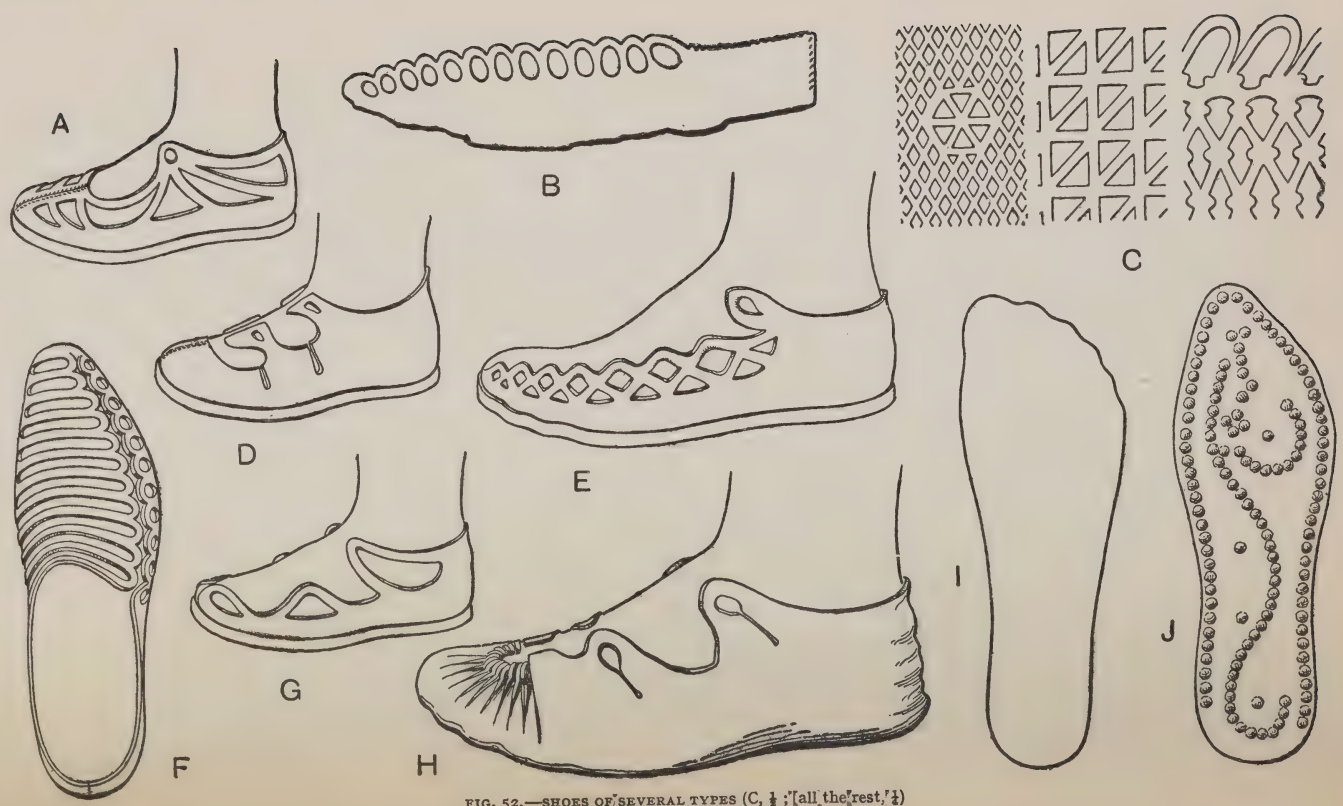

FIG. 52.—SHOES OF SEVERAL TYPES (C, ½; [all the rest, ⅛)
(For description, see text)

soles of the shoes show that sometimes all the toes were represented in outline, as in I. J does not show this, but it conforms to the outline of the foot and is studded with hob-nails, as we should call them, for rough out-of-door work.

Perhaps the medium of exchange in the shape of coinage, which has incidentally been alluded to in previous chapters, should not be wholly overlooked, though it cannot be dealt with, being a topic which requires more space than can be allotted to it in a small book like this. Let it suffice that when the Roman housewife went out to market she dealt with her tradespeople not of course with coins like ours, but with a metal currency varying in image and superscription with the emperor for the time being.

The Roman domestic life must have been easy enough, and their houses were well supplied with most of the comforts of civilization, even in some cases with water mains. They were warm in winter and not too hot in summer, and we may feel sure that they were kept clean. They must have been badly lighted in the dark evenings with the small oil lamps and the candles, whose sticks are found from time to time made of pottery or bronze, but they were no worse off than our own ancestors were in the days before modern illuminants came in. People of my age can well remember the old " Moderator " lamp, which, though it gave a fair light was very troublesome, not to say expensive. The Romans were not so much worse off than the people of that time.

CHAPTER XIII

FUNERARY MONUMENTS

THE book of early archæology would be a much smaller one than it is but for one custom universal in time we may say, and certainly in area, that of burying with the dead a number of objects, sometimes called "grave-goods," sometimes " accompanying gifts," for the use of the soul of the dead man or woman in the next world. " No Aryan people, at any rate," writes a recent author, " has ever thought that death ended all life." We might extend this saying far beyond what may be looked upon as Aryan peoples. In the first complete burial of Mousterian times, far back in the indistinct dawn of mankind, we find this custom. " It is almost with a shock of surprise," writes Professor Sollas, " that we discover this well-known custom, and all that it implies, already in existence during the last episode of the Great Ice Age."

No doubt the savage psychology was crude and it envisaged a future life not very different from the present, in fact more or less a continuation of it. And so the Scandinavian warrior was buried in a sea-going boat with an entire crew provided for his use in the next world. The Scythian chieftain was supplied with chariots and a body of horsemen also made to order. The Romans had, as we shall see, somewhat confused ideas as to the next world, but on the question of accompanying gifts they were quite in line with other early races. Thus in a tile-tomb, that is, one built of tiles in the shape of a little quadrilateral chest, besides the ashes of the dead in one of the square glass bottles, dealt with in the last chapter, there were four little lamps on brackets

FIG. 53.—OBJECTS BURIED WITH CHILD, COLCHESTER MUSEUM

FIG. 54.—ROMAN STONE COFFINS AT YORK
Above : Simplicia Florentina ; below : Julia Fortunata
(See text for description)

in the corners, which had no doubt been left to burn until their oil was exhausted in order to light the soul on its gloomy way. There were a pair of sandals for its feet and various pieces of earthenware, on which may have been placed food, lay within the cyst. Or, to take another example, there was discovered at Colchester the funeral remains of a little child, in which besides the ashes were a tetina or feeding bottle, a teething ring, a toy pigeon, a bangle, and other articles. In the same place was discovered a burial of a child, it may be assumed of somewhat more advanced age, in which the ashes were in two small vessels of the kind called honey-pots, and with them were a water flagon, three small green glazed St. Remy pots, a Samian vessel, and a mirror. These might have belonged to the burial of a person of any age, but in addition there was a feeding bottle and above all a complete collection of little toys made of white clay, a kind of white terra-cotta, and some of them coated with a greenish yellow glaze. One of these was the head and neck of a doll, just like those made to-day but for the material of which it was constructed, the others were quaint human and animal figures, just the things which would delight a child, and we may feel sure that the grieving parents found some consolation in the thought that the spirit of their child had something wherewith to content itself in the other world.

Still, as we may discover from the sixth book of the "Æneid," the Roman idea of the next world was very indistinct. "Virgil," says Sir Samuel Dill, "mirrors the confusion of beliefs which prevailed in his own age, and which pre-eminently characterized the age of the Antonines."

Before considering the monuments of the dead in Britain let us pass in review a few of the Roman ideas with which we are acquainted, as to the position of the dead. In the first place, some spirits were malignant and had to be kept aloof. That is the case in many places where a "ghost hedge" is erected around the grave to keep the spirit from roaming. Perhaps this may have been the significance of

the rings of stones around the long barrows or mounds in which the dead were interred in Neolithic days. Evil spirits such as these were warned off the premises on the Lemuria, which took place on the ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth days of May. "On three nights of May," to quote a recent description, "the master of each house would rise at midnight and pass barefooted from his room, snapping his fingers softly, lest, were he silent, the vagrant ghosts should meet him and face him unawares. Then, having bathed his hands in holy water, he would go down each corridor, flinging black beans behind as he went, nor ever look back. For while he muttered 'These offer I; with these I ransom myself and mine,' the hungry bloodless ghosts would follow him, snatching at his beans and devouring them. When the whole house had thus been traversed, he would bathe again and strike a gong, and nine times say, 'Ye ghosts of my ancestors, go hence!' And all would be still once more."

But there were other and pleasanter views of the spirits of the dead, and on the Parentalia—from February the thirteenth to the twenty-first—all persons in the city went to the tombs of their relatives, bordering on the roads but outside the gates, and garlanded them with wreaths of flowers, partaking together afterwards of a simple meal. At the end of this time, that is, on the twenty-second of the month, the entire family met once more together at the home for a love feast in which all shared. All the little quarrels which affect even united families must for that day at least be put away and forgotten. Places were set at table for the dead, and the little statues of the household gods presided at the occasion. Thus on one day in the year, at least, gods, spirits, and living members of the family all met in peace in one great family gathering called the *Cara Cognitio* (our Dear Kinsfolk) or the *Caristia* (our Dear Ones). The week during which all this was taking place was so holy that all else was postponed to the claims of the dead—no one might do any kind of business and no marriages might

FIG. 55.—ROMAN LEAD COFFINS, YORK

FIG. 56.—HEAD OF HAIR OF A ROMAN LADY, YORK

be celebrated. Both of these very opposite ideas we may be sure the Romans brought with them into Britain, as they brought their Lares, and that the customs associated with them were carried out around and in the cities of Britain as they were in those of Italy. The Romans had an intense feeling as to burial. "Two of the deepest feelings," says Sir Samuel Dill, "in the Roman mind did duty for a clear faith in the life beyond the tomb. One was family piety, the other the passionate desire of the parting spirit to escape neglect and oblivion." In one of his vivid little tales in the book entitled "In God's Nursery," from which I have already quoted, the Rev. C. C. Martindale, using as his figures Ovid and a little child, writes, "These [inscriptions] Ovid would read to the little girl, and with her whisper 'Salve' and place flowers on lonely graves, and salute the little bands of relatives who returned each year, violets and roses in their hands, to partake of a simple meal at the tomb and in the presence of their beloved dead. Wonderfully careful were these men and women of that complicated world of all that related to their last dwelling. Bequests were made for tombs, for their upkeep, their yearly visitation. Gardens were planted to produce the fruit for the funeral meal, the flowers for the garlands; 'that from them the guardians of my tomb may for ever have a rose to offer me,' says one most pathetic inscription." As to these inscriptions in general: occasionally, but rarely, they were epicurean and cynical. "Eat, drink, amuse yourself, come" is of this order, but it is unusual. Of course they often reveal a bitter grief and a longing for and anticipation of re-union elsewhere. "Health" or "Be the earth light to thee," are common formulas. To quote again from the author just named: "The dead man asks for prayers and promises gratitude. 'Whatever each of you wishes me who am dead, may it likewise be yours living and dead.' The dead are asked to appeal to the living. 'If tears avail aught, show thyself in dreams to mine eyes.' An exquisite prayer is found: 'I implore you, most holy spirits of the dead, con-

sider my husband committed to your charge, and deign to be most generous to him, that in the hours of night I may behold him and the more swiftly and easily pass to where he is.' " One last example, taken like most of the above from Orelli. It is the utterance of two maidens : " Thou that doubtest if the dead exist, make thy vow ; invoke us ; and thou shalt understand."

So far we have only been considering the cases of the well-to-do: what about the poor and the slave? The late Warde Fowler wrote : " The working man was happy enough during his life, but the shadow hanging over him was that he should be forgotten after death and thrown into a common grave where no hand would bring the annual offering of wine and flowers." Such in fact was the fate of the dead bodies of those who had not been able to provide proper burial for themselves and who had no relatives or none able to carry out the interment.

Charitable people did something to help these indigent persons, and nothing proves the Roman feeling on this matter more fully than the fact that the wills of wealthy testators seem to have contained not infrequently sums of money to provide proper burial for those who cannot themselves afford to pay for it. Thus Orelli records an inscription which states that a citizen of Sassina had bequeathed 100 graves for that number of indigent fellow-townsmen. But naturally the anxious poor man did not care to trust to such post-mortem generosity if in any way he could avoid doing so. And in his interest there were founded very numerous *Collegia Tenuiorum*—Benefit Societies, in fact what we should call Burial Clubs, which, as will appear, came to have quite another significance from that with which they were first endowed, and in this connexion let it be noted that their names often conveyed no indication of the purpose of the organization. Thus there was at Lanuvium an organization known as the "*Collegium Salutare Dianæ et Antinoii*," which, without other available evidence, would never have been identified as nothing more than a burial club.

FIG. 57.—FACE URNS FOR THE ASHES OF THE DEAD, COLCHESTER MUSEUM

The nebulosity about the dead which has been mentioned is reflected in the fact that there was actually no numen for the dead. *Numina* will be mentioned in a later chapter, but here it may be said that they were minor deities—a myriad of them—who presided over all the events of life. Thus *Cunina* watched the baby's cradle, *Statana* taught him how to stand, *Levana* picked him up if he fell, *Ossipaga* fixed his bones, and so on. But, though one would have expected it, there is no numen to look after the poor lonely spirit and tend it on its way to the Styx and its ferryman.

When one examines into the matter it will appear that the evil spirit phase of idea was dominant at the time of death, for the object of the funeral ceremonies was mostly to wash away the impurities of the living incurred by their proximity to the dead. There would be a burial procession from the house of the dead man through the streets and out of the city by one of its gates to the appointed spot along one of the main roads intersecting the country lying around. Here, if the dead person had been important enough when alive, there would be a "*Laudatio*," or funeral panegyric: "Friends, Romans, countrymen, I come to bury Cæsar," and so on. Then, if it were to be burnt, the body would be consumed at the "*Ustrinum*," the Crematorium of the day, and the ashes gathered into a glass jug, an urn, a receptacle of some kind and placed perhaps in a cyst, or perhaps in a *Columbarium* or Dovecote—a group of niches in a large wall, a kind of edifice of which no trace has so far been discovered in Britain, though of course it might most easily have been destroyed if ever erected. Or the body may have been buried intact by what is called inhumation, a method which, perhaps under Christian influence, came into Britain about A.D. 250.

Turning at last to the conditions which existed in Britain we may first of all review this method of burial. Sometimes the body seems to have been placed in a wooden coffin and one of oak, pegged with pegs of the same wood, was found

in Derbyshire. Naturally this kind of receptacle must have perished in the lapse of years, save under very exceptional conditions. The body has been found fully extended, as was always the custom, in a tiled grave at York. Stone coffins made out of a single block, as afterwards in mediæval times, were also employed, and, as in mediæval times, the stone coffin was at once the receptacle and the monument. Such is the case with the coffin of Julia Fortunata at York. Another much smaller stone coffin found at the same place possesses an inscription which is touching enough, after all these years, to bear quotation: "*D. M. Simplicæ Florentine anime dulcissimæ que vixit menses decem Felicius Simplex pater fecit. Leg. vi. V*" ("Sacred to the memory of Simplicia Florentina, a most sweet soul, who lived ten months. Felicius Simplex, her father, set up this monument. Of the Sixth, the Victorious Legion.")

Sometimes these sarcophagi were of carved marble, and such must have been the receptacle in which the bones of St. Ethelthryth, or Etheldreda, or Awdrey, were eventually buried. Bede tells us that, sixteen years after her death as Abbess of Ely, her sister Sexburgh, who succeeded her in that office, desiring to re-inter her sister, sent some of the brothers of the monastery to get stone wherewith to construct a coffin. Taking boat—for Ely was at that time an island—they reached *Granta ceaster*, then a "waste chester," in other words, the modern Grantchester, near Cambridge, and there they found a carved sarcophagus, which they took back to Ely, feeling that it would save them the trouble of hewing a coffin from a mass of rock. Incidentally this tale shows us the post-Roman custom of making stone quarries of the older Roman settlements which has robbed us of so many objects of interest.

Another method of burial was in lead coffins on which were patterns made in the casting; scallop shells and lines of nail heads are common adornments. Several of these have been found at York and elsewhere, and we have excellent evidence that many others were found and melted down

Marcus Favonius, a Centurion of the Twentieth Legion

Regina, wife of Barathres

FIG. 58.—TOMBSTONES AT COLCHESTER AND SOUTH SHIELDS

for the price of the lead by those unaware of the higher value of the objects as museum specimens. In these and in the stone coffins the body was sometimes enclosed in liquid plaster of Paris, which set around it and would preserve it for a long time. This custom was not confined to Roman times, for I am aware of its occurrence in the nineteenth century. Amongst the most curious of the human relics which have been preserved is the complete head of hair of a Roman lady with the jet pins which held it in place, which is to be seen in the museum at York. It is of a dark chestnut colour. Whether it owes that tint to art or nature is not for a male writer to decide. A lady whom he once took to see this curious relic of more than 1,500 years ago, thought that art had had a large share, and of course it is well known that fashionable Roman ladies did dye their hair—red, for example—when it was fashionable to be British in appearance.

The cremated bodies were disposed of in various ways, some of which, having been already alluded to, need not be repeated. Curious " face urns," with rude representations of the features and belonging to the second century, have been found in some numbers at Colchester. Tile tombs holding vessels for the ashes and other goods dating from the year 59 onwards occur in many places. Sometimes the cysts have been covered with mounds, as in the so-called Bartlow Hills, but more usually not.

Something must now be said of monuments proper, or memorials of the dead, of which a goodly number have been found in Britain.

The majority of these are military in their character, as would naturally be expected, and we have quite a series of centurions, each with *vitis* in hand, like Marcus Favonius of the Twentieth Legion, which was found at Colchester over an ossuary. A monument, much battered, to a centurion and his wife near Brecon has already been mentioned. There is an *optio*, Cæcilius Avitus, at Chester. Fig. 59. The horse soldier riding down a prostrate British foe is so common

a *motif* that it surely must have been kept in stock in the stonemasons' yards. Rufus Sita of the sixth cohort of the Thracians had a tombstone at *Viroconion*, on which, as on a number of others, are sculptured lions—perhaps an

FIG. 59.—ROMAN TOMBSTONE
Cæcilius Avitus an Optio

indication that he had attained to that grade in the Mithraic form of religion. Caius Mannius Secundus on another tombstone is also decorated with the lions.

Rufus Sita

The Funeral Feast

FIG. 60.—TOMBSTONES AT CIRENCESTER AND YORK

Sometimes a stone has been left incomplete—ordered for a purpose which has never been carried out. Thus there is a stone with three compartments, of which the first bears an inscription to Placida, aged fifty-five, erected by her husband, to whom she had been married for thirty years. The second is to a boy Deuccus, aged fifteen, erected by his brother. The third, perhaps intended for the name of the husband of Placida and the brother of Deuccus, remains blank. Perhaps he left the district and died elsewhere; perhaps after his death no one was sufficiently interested in him to add the inscription; we can never know. The perfunctory tombstone is not unknown, for there is at least the example of "*Vacia infans an*(*norum*) *iii*," who is represented by a girl very much older than three, probably a memorial "out of stock" and "marked down" in price. A memorial, also from near Carlisle, of one Tancorix is very rude in its execution, but of course this district was quite on the edge of the empire.

The funeral feast (see Fig. 60) is a *motif* which is found all over the empire, and not uncommonly—for example at York and at Chester—in Britain. It is also met with in Assyria and in Greece, and may, some think, have been originally connected with ancestor worship. In early Attic tombstones the dead man sits in state with a winecup, for libations, and a pomegranate, the special food of the dead, to receive the worship of his descendants. In the type of monument met with in Britain and other parts of the empire the dead man reclines on a couch by the side of which is a three-legged table, on which the repast of wine and fruit is represented.

CHAPTER XIV

RELIGIOUS MEMORIALS—THE OLDER RELIGIONS

IN order to understand the very tangled subject of the religious memorials found in Britain and the cults associated with them several points must be borne in mind. First of all, the extraordinary and almost universal toleration of the Romans for all sorts and kinds of beliefs and the ease with which one belief was added on to another.

If a man openly flouted the gods or too obviously neglected them, no doubt he might get himself disliked and even fall into trouble, but he might be "*parcus deorum cultor et infrequens*" and be little the worse thought of. Or, on the other hand, he might assiduously follow the cult of half a dozen or more forms of worship without incurring any further criticism than that he was inclined to err on the side of overdevoutness. The Roman who himself worshipped, say, thirty gods of various kinds, did not in the least mind whether his next-door neighbour worshipped twenty-nine or thirty-one. To this toleration, however, there were two exceptions—Christianity and Druidism. As to the former, there will be much to be said in a later chapter. As to the latter, something has already been said and the matter may now be further dealt with. The strange thing is that, though this form of religion was banned, yet the Roman writers betray a kind of respect for it. Alluding to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls which was taught by the Druids, Valerius Maximus, a writer of the first century, says: "One would have laughed at these long trousered philosophers, if we had not found their doctrines

FIG. 61.—ROMAN ALTAR TO DIANA, LONDON

under the cloak of Pythagoras." And there is a lengthier statement by Lucan: "Ye too, ye bards, who by your praises perpetuate the memory of the fallen brave without hindrance poured forth your strains. And ye, ye Druids, now that the sword was removed, began once more your barbaric rites and weird solemnities. To you only is given knowledge or ignorance (whichever it be) of the gods and the powers of heaven; your dwelling is in the lone heart of the forest. From you we learn that the bourne of man's ghost is not the senseless grave, nor the pale realm of the monarch below; in another world his spirit survives still; death, if your lore is true, is but the passage to eternal life." Even Christians had a respect or a fear for this religion, for St. Patrick in his well-known prayer asks for help against the "spells of women, smiths, and druids"; and St. Columba in a rhetorical outburst proclaims that "the Son of God is my Druid."

If the Romans had such respect for the tenets of the Druids and were, as they undoubtedly were, highly tolerant of all sorts of religions, why were they so determined to extirpate Druidism? There is no doubt that it was a cruel and bloodthirsty religion and endowed with a savage creed. That there were human sacrifices is undoubted, and it is possible that the Cerne giant, 170 feet in length, may have been the outline of one of the wicker enclosures in which these holocausts took place. If so, we gain some idea of the scale on which they were conducted. Tacitus speaks of the groves of the then wooded Mona (Anglesey) as "devoted to inhuman superstitions," and says that the Druids "deemed it a duty to cover their altars with the blood of captives and to consult their deities through human entrails."

Bryce thought that when Claudius is said to have abolished Druidism all that is meant is that he put an end to the cruel practices associated with it, just as our rule has put an end to *suttee* in India. There must have been a great deal more than that for after the Roman occupation was

over we hear nothing of Druidism, nor had it revived, as surely it would have done had any embers been left, during the time that the Christian Church in Wales was cut off from the remainder of Christendom by the pagan screen of Saxons.

With the toleration of which we have been hearing were co-ordinated the facts that the Romans had no sort of religious propaganda and sent out no missionaries, though her soldiers carried all sorts of faiths to all sorts of parts of the then known world.

So much for the first point. The second is not of less importance in connexion with Roman Britain. The Romans possessed an extraordinary facility for absorbing alien divinities and making them their own. The case of Jupiter Dolichenos, shortly to be mentioned, illustrates this. But they accomplished much of this by equating the alien deities with their own. Obviously if a race has a pantheon there will be a god of the sea, a god of war, and so on, with some sort of leading deity, usually a sky god. Hence, when the Romans found that Toutates, let us say, was the war god of at least one group of Kelts, they settled the matter by taking it that it was Mars under another name, and found no difficulty in dedicating altars to the war god under the double name any more than they did at *Aquæ Sulis* in worshipping Sul-Minerva. Thus the travelling Roman could on his journeys change his gods as easily as we change our washerwomen nowadays.

Where the equation did not seem for the time quite clear, there was no difficulty in the way of the travelling Roman offering sacrifice or adoration to the local deity, even if he was not exactly able to give him his proper place in his own pantheon. It was just an act of civility to the ruler of an alien country to which no very great importance need be attached. It is not to be wondered at that persons with such opinions should find it strange that the Christians should refuse the small compliment of a pinch of incense to the divinity of the emperor.

We may now consider the various gods and godlets owned at different periods by the Romans or introduced into the city from outside, mainly from the Orient, and see how far their influence extended to Britain.

In comparision with other and more introspective races the typical Roman was a highly practical person, with an unphilosophical mind, troubling himself but little with such questions as the nature of God, the origin of the universe, or the destiny of the soul. He wanted to make the best possible use of the world in which he lived rather than to occupy his mind with its philosophical problems.

Such personal religion as he had largely centred round the home, and naturally so, for the home was the centre of Roman life, and this was one of the great causes of the success of the empire. It was the breakdown of home life which preluded the decline of that empire—a fact which ought to be a lesson to our own race, which has so many points of similarity with that which occupied Britain at the time with which we are dealing. Thus some of the most important deities were those which belonged to the homely everyday class of *Numina,* associated with every action of life and already mentioned in the previous chapter. Some of these developed into State Deities, such as *Janus,* who looked after the door of the house, and, as that both opens and closes, had two faces, one looking either way. He became the god of all beginnings, and had an important temple in Rome, the doors of which, as every one knows, were closed in times of peace. And we get the name of the first month of the year from him. Then there was *Vesta,* chiefly known to the people of modern Britain in connexion with lucifer matches. Vesta was the goddess of the hearth, and anyone who has ever lived in a land where " Vestas " are not always nor easily to be had, will understand the anxiety with which primitive folk show to keep alive what people in the turf-burning parts of Ireland call " the seed of fire," that is, those glowing embers from which anew the flames can be enkindled. Vesta looked after this business,

and the Vestal Virgins, a most important body in Rome, preserved the sacred and never extinguished flame in their temple, which, like all the temples of Vesta, was circular, perhaps on the plan of the early circular hut. A temple was discovered in *Calleva* which was at first thought to be circular and ascribed to this goddess, but a more recent survey has shown that it is really multangular, and the name of the deity worshipped there remains undecided.

Here may perhaps be mentioned the deities associated with the eight days of the Roman week, which were, commencing with Saturn for the first and followed by Sol (Sunday) in order, Luna (Monday), Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus (Friday). The eighth day was given to Fortuna or Bonus Effectus. A bronze object, of unexplained purpose, found in the Thames shows these deities.

Besides the *Numina* there were the true household gods, the *Lares* and *Penates* often alluded to by people to-day if as they were household furniture and clothes. The *Penates* were in fact in their origin the gods of the household stores, though they developed into the most favoured household deities in the household shrine, where images of its various deities resided. And since city life in Rome was family life writ large, there came in time to be civic Penates as well.

The *Lares* were essentially the household spirits, and there was in each home a special *Lar Familiaris*, who was worshipped at all family events, such as births, deaths, and marriages, and specially when the child spoke its first word. Those who see in ancestor worship the beginnings of all religion have argued that the Lares began as the spirits of the dead, for which opinion there seems to be but little evidence. It is much more likely that they began as the local spirits of the lands and fields, and were allied to the next group to be dealt with. These too came to have a worship outside the home, and the first external development was that of the *Compitalia*, or Cross-Roads, festival—a feast held in December or January. Later on they

FIG. 62.—ROMAN ALTARS AT YORK

developed into the protectors of the state and had their civic feast on May 1st. A special cabinet or small room, named the *Lararium*, was provided for their images in Roman dwellings, and such rooms have been found in British houses. The *Genius*, another nebulous deity or group of deities, is exceedingly hard to define. "There are more things in heaven and earth"—the quotation is somewhat musty, but it explains the general idea that there were lots of spiritual influences belonging to persons and still more to places. "*Genio Loci*" is on an altar at Chester, and was a common ascription. It shows the desire of people to keep on good terms with the little godlets and spirits of the district, almost a forecast of the feelings towards the fairies before the "Dimchurch Flit" took place. At Chester too there is an altar inscribed "*Nymphis et Fontibus*," another indefinite ascription of much the same kind. Finally, to this group was added the all-important Genius of the emperor; but that must be treated of separately and in its own place.

For many a long year the great gods were much less important than the little homely, comfortable godlets of the inner recesses of the home. Then Greek influence brought in images of the gods previously unknown, and in fact more than the images—the entire pantheon.

Jupiter was the original Aryan god of the bright sky to whom the oak was sacred, and to him was attributed the Fulgur—the Thunderbolt. Statuettes of him have been found in Britain, and an altar at *Amboglanna* bears the inscription of which the following is a translation: "To Jupiter the good and great, erected by the first Ælian cohort of Dacians which is commanded by the tribune Ammonius Victorinus."

Even the great Jupiter had to suffer the indignity of absorption by an alien deity and to issue as *Jupiter Dolichenus*, a suffix not of Keltic but Semitic origin. He was the local Baal of Commagene or rather of Doliche in that district of Northern Syria, and the rise and progress of his

influence is an admirable example of how religions were spread by the soldiery. Cumont says: "Because of the troops coming from that region, this obscure Baal, whose name is mentioned by no author, found worshippers in every Roman province as far as Africa, Germany, and Brittany." To which Britain might well have been added, for more than one altar to this Semitic deity has been found in our country—for example, at Carlisle, "Jupiter, best and greatest Dolichenus, for the welfare of Septimius Severus." On the Wall, as might be expected, he was popular, and besides the altar just mentioned others have been found at *Corstorpitum* and *Æsica*. Cumont continues: "The number of known inscriptions to him exceeds a hundred, and it is still growing. Being originally nothing but a god of lightning, represented as brandishing an axe, this local genius of the tempest was elevated to the rank of tutelary deity of the imperial armies."

Mars the god of war, who, however, began his career as the numen of vegetation, with the woodpecker and the wolf sacred to him, developed into his better-known position when the Romans became warlike and fixed on their favourite numen as their war god. Naturally they found war gods in the various countries which they subdued, and these they very reasonably assimilated with their own war god. Examples of this are met with in various parts of Britain. At Tarraby on the Wall we have unadulterated Mars: "The second sacred Augustan Legion under the charge of Ælianus, Commander in Chief of the Second Legion, Oppius Felix being his Deputy Lieutenant, dedicates this altar to Mars, the great local deity; and took care to have it set up." The phrase "the great local deity" can only mean that whilst he was worshipped under another name there as the chief of the gods, he was their Mars all the same. But he had a number of second names. At Caerwent we have an inscription to "Mars *Lenus* by Marcus Nonius Romanus," set up in honour of his having been excused from making contributions to some guild, possibly of sailors. The exact

date, August 23, 152, is given, but nothing remains of the statue except the feet and near it the webbed feet of birds. Near Carlisle: "To Mars *Ocelos* and to the numen of the divine Emperor Alexander Augustus and of Julia Mammea and of the entire divine house." This was the Emperor Severus (222–235), who was, as already stated, in Britain and died there. His name, as always, is erased on the inscription. Another altar to Mars, "Lenus sive Ocelos," was found at Caerwent. *Okelos* is a Keltic suffix and was known to Ptolemy the geographer, for in his nomenclature what we call Spurn Head was *Okelon Promontorium*. *Coccidius* is thought to be another name for Mars, though the dual inscription has not been found. At Bewcastle: "Quintus Peltrasius Maximus, commander of the garrison who was formerly clerk to their eminences the pretorian prefects erects this altar to the holy god Coccidius." And then follow the letters found on so many altars and other memorials: "V. S. L. M." (*Votum Solvit Libens Merito*, or, in English, He pays his vow willingly and honestly). In the same district there is another altar to this god set up by one Auruncius Felicissimus, a tribune, also in payment of a vow. Mars is called *Belatucadros* at Burgh-on-Sands in Yorkshire, and *Toutates* or *Teutates* in Herts. These terms are of Keltic origin. Other alternative names in Britain were *Audus*, *Barrex*, *Braciaca*, *Condatis*, *Corotiacus* and *Medocius*. There is no doubt as to the popularity of this deity and naturally so with soldiery. *Neptune* very appropriately had an altar at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and there is another with the dual dedication to Neptune and Minerva which was found at Chichester. To *Nodens*, who, amongst other things, seems to have been a Keltic Neptune, there was a temple at Lydney on the Severn. *Apollo* under that name had an altar at Newstead and appears also to have been equated with *Maponus*, a name associated with Mabon, which in modern Welsh means a child, and has been used as a Bardic title. There is an altar in the collection at Carlisle, which is believed to have been brought from *Ambog-*

lanna, with the inscription, "*Deo Maponi et N(umini) Aug(ustorum or usti) Durio et Ramio et Trupo et Lurio Germani. V. S. L. M.*" Four German soldiers no doubt serving in garrison at *Amboglanna* put up this altar to Maponus and the genius of the emperor, as a fulfilment of their mutual vow.

An altar to *Diana* has been found in London, where a temple to that goddess seems to have occupied the position where St. Paul's now stands. She also had an altar at Newstead, near the other end of the island.

Before concluding this chapter and passing to the consideration of the exotic religions of the later empire, and especially of Mithraism and Christianity, it remains to say something about the latest form of national religion—the worship of the emperor.

In the first century, we are told by Ramsay, there was a great effort made to forge the various nations included in the empire into an articulated organism of provinces looking to a single imperial heart and brain for order and unity. Thus the imperial policy of Julius Cæsar, shaped further by Augustus and his great minister Agrippa, attempted to obliterate old national lines of separation, which in the long run proved to be too far-reaching for any such treatment. At that time no union of men was in any way conceivable without some religious bond. The Roman Empire must have such a bond : it was not to be found in any of the religious ideas already detailed, nor in any of the exotic religions still to be dealt with and so the Imperial Religion was set up. Octavianus, better known as Augustus, the name which he had assumed, in the year 27 allowed himself to be made *Pontifex Maximus*, and thus became head of religion as well as of the state. From that time may be said to have dated the gradual centralization of worship around the person of the emperor, and incidentally, but with profound effects on after history, that idea of the "right divine of kings to govern wrong " or right, which was afterwards to stir up so much trouble and lead to more than one tragedy.

FIG. 63.—ALTAR TO THE SULEVIAN MOTHERS

At first in Rome, though not in the provinces, this worship did not come to the emperor whilst alive. " Bad luck to it, I'm afraid I'm becoming a god ! " Vespasian exclaimed when dying. In the provinces, where the religious bond was above all important, the living and reigning emperor did receive the worship of a god. Of the basic idea, Ramsay remarks that apart from the slavish adulation of the emperor whilst alive, the worship of the nobility and genius of Rome was not devoid of a certain grandeur. But it was incapable of life, for it degraded human nature and above all things was founded on an obvious lie. At any rate it was a kind of monotheism, and Cumont thought that paganism had evolved this monotheistic idea and that it paved the way for Christianity. Mrs. Arthur Strong, a first-rate authority, in an exceedingly interesting book, thinks that the idea of the god-emperor with its centralizing effect prevented the swamping of the essential monotheism of the Roman mind by the introduction of the Greek pantheon. Before the imperial idea the older gods fled, and there is a piece of sculpture figured by Mrs. Strong which shows Jupiter abdicating to the emperor. That marvel of its form of art, the Grand Camée, shows us Tiberius with the ægis and other attributes of Jupiter, with Livia his mother as Ceres. Augustus is above supported by Anchises, or Iulus. The rulers have usurped the places of the gods. With this comes in the idea of the central figure in religious representations which we to-day call a " Majesty." The Greek idea of a pediment was a bit of a procession, as we see in the Parthenon. The later Roman idea was that of the central figure, usually looking straight out of his place at the people in front of him, and unconscious of the carved figures at either hand. In later days Gothic artists followed out this idea in the tympana of their doorways and elsewhere.

It is not possible to follow this interesting line of thought any further, for we must turn to the question of the application of this kind of religious worship to the provinces. The cults of the dead and living emperors were different things,

for the living paid worship to the dead *Divi*. The altar for the three Gauls, *Romæ et Augusto*, i.e. to the living emperor as the embodiment of the state, was set up outside *Lugdunum*, or Lyons as we now call it, and that for Germany was associated with *Colonia Agripporum*, the present-day Köln, or Cologne. What, if any, provision was made of this kind in Britain does not appear, for the altar at *Camulodunum* was to a dead and not to the living emperor. But, as will already have been observed, there were altars, and a number of them on which this worship of the emperor is indicated, and there were *Severi Augustales*, who, if the late Sir John Rhŷs was right, had special connexion with that worship. The worship in question was a great bid for a united empire, and it might have succeeded but for various reasons, the most potent being Christianity, which cut directly across its path. But that matter will be dealt with in a succeeding chapter.

CHAPTER XV

ORIENTAL RELIGIONS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

WE need not concern ourselves here with the decadence of religion which took place in Rome at the close of the republic and during the early days of the empire, when Horace tells us that cobwebs veiled the altars and the sacred images were smoke-begrimed, the temples tottering, and even that of Jupiter Feretrius unroofed. Nor need we discuss the causes of this. The object of this chapter is to trace the cults of Oriental origin which penetrated to Rome and extended thence to the distant province of Britain. That these were disseminated in some instances by slaves is quite certain, and this was one at least of the chief factors in their introduction to the city. Slaves were, as has already been explained, in many cases far better educated than their owners, and thus able to exercise an influence over them from their superior intellectual powers. Of course there were also the merchants who frequented the city, but their influence was necessarily much more transient and cannot count for a great deal. Then lastly, and above all, there were the soldiers. Rome in its legionaries had an extraordinarily cosmopolitan force, and from this fact the army was the carrier of all sorts of exotic beliefs. " The Roman soldier," says Cumont, " was as a rule, pious and even superstitious. The many perils to which he was exposed caused him to seek unremittingly the protection of Heaven, and an incalculable number of dedicatory inscriptions bears witness to the vivacity of his faith and the variety of his beliefs."

It is unfortunate that we have but slender material for

the study of these beliefs, a circumstance which is largely due to the fact that, when the Christian Church came to be master of the situation everywhere, its loathing for these heathen practices led to the destruction of every manuscript connected with them. What would one not give for the treatises on Mithraism, let us say, of which we read, but which have disappeared without any hope of recovery? Thus we are left to the remains in sculptures and inscriptions, and the former lend themselves unfortunately and inevitably to very varied interpretations, as will be seen when we arrive at those connected with Mithras and his worship. Then we have numerous scrappy mentions of these faiths in the works of the later Roman poets and satirists, such as Lucan and Apuleius. And perhaps above all we have the bitter comments of the early Christian writers, who saw in these doings the direct work of Satan, and whose descriptions must be regarded from the point of view from which they were made. There is little doubt, in any case, that their denunciations of the obscenity of many of the practices of these worships were in no way exaggerated. Take for example the worship of *Cybele*, the Magna Mater of which only doubtful traces have been found in Britain. This was a Phrygian goddess worshipped on Mount Ida, and her symbol was a black meteoric stone brought, in pursuance of a vow,[1] from Pergamum to Rome in 204 B.C. A temple was provided on the Palatine Hill, and sacred games were instituted in connexion with this worship, but for a long time none but Phrygians were permitted to join either in the worship or in the games. Of this worship St. Augustine of Hippo says in his "*De Civitate Dei*," a storehouse of information, "That beastliness of obscene speeches and actions, which the players acted in public, before the mother of all the gods, and in sight and hearing of a huge number of both sexes, they would be ashamed to act at home in private before their

[1] Professor G. Murray asserts that the stone itself was the goddess—an image of the Great Mother of the Gods was made and the stone placed in its mouth.

mothers, were it but for repetition sake." The Taurobolium seems at its inception to have been associated with this worship though afterwards it was absorbed into Mithraism.

The worship of *Isis* and *Osiris* was perhaps at its origin not wholly Egyptian, though it came to be entirely associated with that land at a later date. It was a remarkable cult, and had an initiation ceremony of great interest, which is fully described by Apuleius in his account of the novice Lucius. Those who desire to read a charming paraphrase of this may consult the story "God's Orphan," in Mr. Martindale's book already mentioned. In its early days this was a cult which really held up an ideal of purity, for Tertullian exhorts Christians to take it as a model; but it lapsed into great licentiousness and ultimately died out. It was very widespread throughout the empire, altars having been found in Holland and in what were, at the time of their erection, barbarian German forests. One has been found at York, which was there set up by the Sixth Legion.

No one doubts that the rites of *Astarte* were impure; indeed, it seems to have been a flagrantly immoral religion in its very essence, and certainly was in its practice. An altar found at *Corstorpitum* bears on it an inscription in Greek of which the translation runs: "Thou seest me, an altar of Astarte, Pulcher set me up."

Before coming to the most interesting of the Oriental faiths it may be well to dispose of another form of worship which was not Oriental, but was, nevertheless, widely diffused throughout the empire, and particularly in Britain. This was the worship of the *Deæ Matres*, or Goddess Mothers, a Rhenish religion (also met with in North Italy and south-east France), naturally brought into Britain by the numerous legionaries recruited from that district. These personages are represented by three draped female forms side by side in separate recesses, and such figures have been found in various parts of our island, three, for example, near Carlisle. At Lincoln there is a curious identification with

the Fates or Parcæ : " To the mothers, the Parcæ for the welfare of Sancta Gemina." There is a Sulevian triad and one called Coventina, but these seem to be of the same origin as the true Deæ Matres, and like them, no doubt, represent the prolific powers of nature.

And now we may turn to the cult of *Mithras*, a form of worship of which we have some knowledge and very much more often unfruitful surmise. Renan is responsible for a statement that it was the really serious rival to Christianity —a statement which scarcely bears the implication often associated with it. The fact that it was a religion for men alone was surely enough to prevent it from ever becoming a world religion, and, though it was a religion, it was much more like a secret society ; and the licence assumed by Kipling in one of the tales in " Puck of Pook's Hill," as to the use of signs and such-like methods of secret societies, is far more justifiable than a good deal of the nonsense which has been written about Mithraism and Christianity, particularly the absurd statement that the latter was only a sect of the former religion. Mithraism was a part of Mazdaism, the worship of a sky god named *Ahura Mazda*. Below this divinity there came other spiritual powers, and amongst them Mithras, the genius not of the sun but of pure light, almost the distinction drawn by the Egyptians between the sun and the sun's disk at the time that Amenophis IV introduced the latter form of belief and changed his name to Akhenaton.

Mithras is represented in a number of the plaques dedicated to his worship as a young man in a Phrygian cap, standing between two other men serenely indifferent to him and to everything else, each of whom has a torch which in one case is held upwards, in the other downwards. There is an excellent example of this in a plaque found in London, though made in what is now Orange in the south of France, set up by Ulpius Silvanus, a pensioner of the Second Legion, in fulfilment of a vow. In these plaques the central figure is Mithras—the light of the sun at noon. The

Dadophori, or Torchbearers, Cauti and Cautopati, obviously represent the light at dawn and at sunset respectively. The episode of the slaying of the bull is the central feature in the life of Mithras, and is represented in most of the plaques. The bull was the first animal created by Ahura, and Mithras, dragging it off to his cave, slew it by thrusting a dagger into its neck. The object of the slaughter was to promote the growth of vegetation, and in one plaque corn, not blood, is seen to flow from the wound. *Ahriman*, the evil deity, sent the snake and scorpion and other venomous beasts to drink up the blood, and so prevent its fertilizing effects, and these noxious creatures are also very commonly shown in the plaques in question. These sculptures often are provided with a kind of frame, with compartments, in each of which is represented some incident which has naturally been assumed—though we know nothing about it—to be associated with the central figure, Mithras. To mention one example: in seven out of a number of these there is a group of shepherds. Those who support the hypothesis as to the connexion between Mithraism and Christianity naturally associate this with the account of the shepherds at the birth of our Lord. This is an excellent illustration of the difficulty which arises in the interpretation of sculptures of this kind in the case of a belief as to which we have no documents. With respect to this particular point, if, as the legend teaches, there were no human beings until Mithras brought them into existence, it is obvious that neither shepherds nor any other kind of men could have witnessed his birth. M. Cumont, by far the greatest authority on this branch of knowledge, thinks that the incident may have been borrowed from Christianity and perhaps it was. The places of worship were curious, and indeed peculiar to this body, for they were either caves or underground grottos, known now as *Mithræa*, and each capable of accommodating 100 persons—that number being obviously the limit of what we might almost speak of as a "lodge." Hence when we hear that

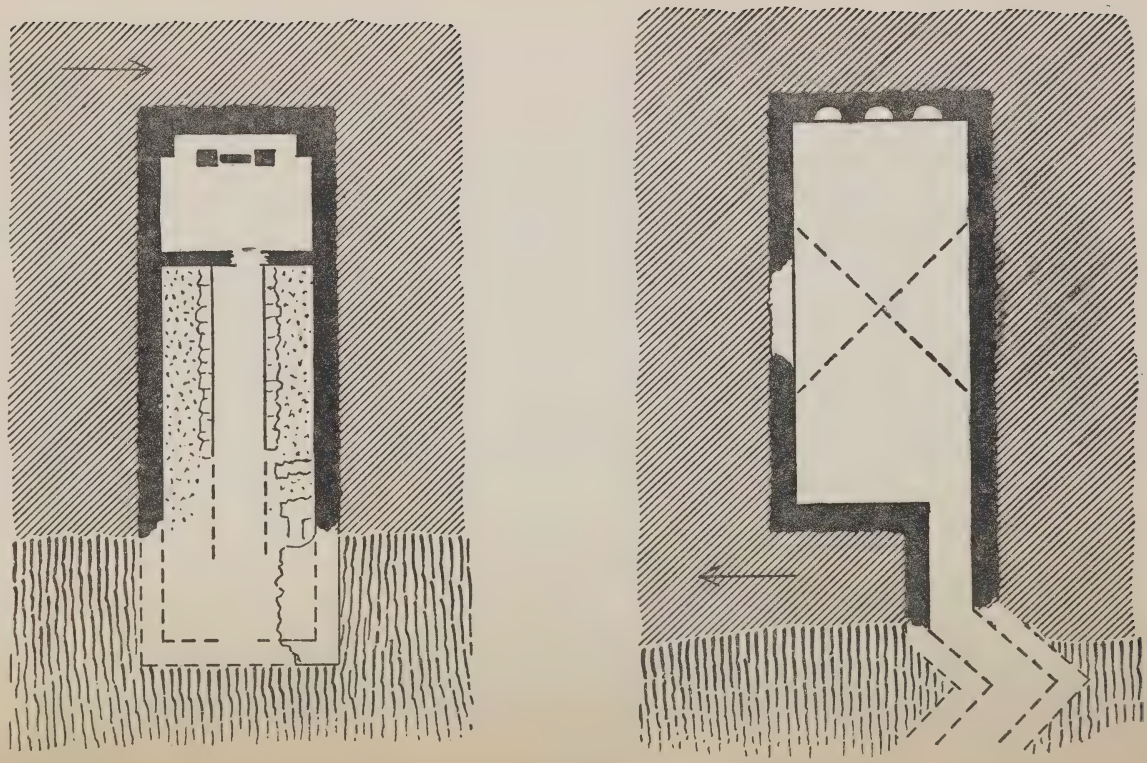

FIG. 64.—PLAN OF MITHRAIC "CAVES" AT HOUSESTEADS AND BURHAM
(20 ft. to 1 in.)

five or six Mithræa have been discovered at Ostia, a populous enough place in Mithraic times, it only means that there were 500 or 600 male adherents of this faith in the town at the most, for of course each " lodge " may not have had its full complement of members. Two of these temples have been found in Britain, one in connexion with the Wall, and a number of other objects pointing to the worship held therein. There were seven grades in Mithraism, as we know from St. Jerome. First was the Crow or Raven and next the Cryphius or Veiled One. It was formerly thought that the word was Gryphius, the Griffin, and it will be remembered that Kipling in his singularly vivid tale makes his hero a Griffin. It is much more likely that he would have been a Lion, which was the third stage, and that apparently at which most of the soldiers stopped. The lions on a number of the tombstones, to which attention was called in an earlier chapter, it is thought may be an indication that the persons in whose memory the tablets were erected had attained to that grade or " degree." The further grades were, in succession : Persian, Racer of the Sun and Father, and the last seems to have consisted of the priests.

Mithraism was a curiously compound faith. Cumont says of it : " An analysis of the constituent elements of Mithraism, like a cross section of a geological formation, shows the strata of this composite mass in their regular order of deposition. The basal layer of this religion, its lower and primordial stratum, is the faith of ancient Iran, from which it took its origin. Above this Mazdean substratum was deposited in Babylon a thick sediment of Semitic doctrines, and afterwards the local beliefs of Asia Minor added to it their alluvial deposits. Finally a luxuriant vegetation of Hellenic ideas burst forth from this fruitful soil and partly concealed from view its true original nature."

There is no question that for a time, even for centuries, the success of Mithraism was great and that the religion

spread over the entire Roman Empire. "Among the storms and mists of the northernmost country known to Rome, Mithras was adored with the same rites as in the line of forts which stretched along the blazing line of the Equator," says a recent writer on the subject, and such in fact was the case. Why did this religion make such extraordinary strides? It was no doubt fortunate in the moment of its arrival, for religion of other kinds, as we have already noticed, was practically dead, and a religion of some kind all peoples must have. Now the faiths which surged into this vacuum proclaimed in all cases, and especially in that of Mithras, two new ideas, as Cumont has pointed out: "Mysterious methods of purification, by which they claimed to wash away the impurities of the soul, and the assurance that a blessed immortality would be the reward of piety"—two things which were wanting in the older beliefs of Rome.

Mithraism was a man's religion: the female counterpart, so far as there was one, seems to have been found in connexion with the worship of Cybele. More than that, it was a soldier's religion, for it taught that there was a perpetual combat between the good and the evil principles, a combat in which man must engage if he was to fulfil his destiny. Further, it was a highly picturesque religion, and it ministered to that craving in human nature, and especially in male human nature, for membership in bodies where there are secrets, actual or supposed, and numerous opportunities for "dressing up." That there is this craving no one looking round on the vast number of "secret" societies with their regalias can doubt. There was dressing up in connexion with the Mithraic functions—that seems pretty clear. And there were grades and initiations. In one of the grades the neophyte was branded on the forehead with a hot iron, which some writer, surely a humourist, has suggested was the origin of the Christian rite of confirmation. No doubt this picturesque side of the religion was an attraction to many. But there was much more than

that, for there was an appeal to the eternal distinction between right and wrong which springs in every human soul. Mithraism did teach rigid adherence to the truth and urged temperance and continence on its adherents; indeed, it was thus distinguished from the other Oriental religions already dealt with, which either neglected purity or inculcated its reverse. Yet, as Martindale says, "In no case have we evidence of a true code or system of ethics, or any trace (historically verifiable) of moral effort or ideal which can bear any relation to the Christian, save that of a will-of-the-wisp to the noon-day sun."

Sir Samuel Dill sums up the subject, with no want of tenderness to Mithraism, by saying that it "is perhaps the highest and most striking example of the last efforts of paganism to reconcile itself to the great moral and spiritual movement which was setting steadily, and with growing momentum, toward purer conceptions of God, of man's relations to Him, and of the life to come." And he also says, "It is also the greatest effort of syncretism to absorb without extinguishing the gods of the classic pantheon in a cult which was almost monotheistic, to transform old forms of nature worship and cosmic symbolism into a system which should provide at once some form of moral discipline and real satisfaction for spiritual wants."

With all these advantages and, for a time, with full imperial support, for Commodus was actually an initiate, how was it that this religion vanished so utterly off the face of the earth that we have largely to trust to conjecture for our ideas about it?

Apart altogether from any supernatural reasons, why was it that the exclusive religion Christianity succeeded and the syncretic failed? Of course the discussion is rendered nugatory by the elimination of the supernatural element, but there are at least two reasons other than that, one of which—the exclusion of women—has already been mentioned. The other is exactly that syncretic or all-embracing character, which a superficial examination would cause one

to consider a great asset, which contained the seeds of its downfall. One would think that it would be considered an easy mode of life to belong to a religion which raised no trouble, for example, about paying reverence to the divinity of the emperor, and thus relieved its neophytes of any anxiety in that direction.

But the inclusiveness took in naturally all the evil things which belonged to some of the other sects already described, and Mithraism lost that purity which had, we may feel sure, recommended it to many sincere persons really desirous of living a good life. In that direction, then, again we may look for the cause of its disappearance.

It finally went out under persecution. No doubt: but the Christian Church had to endure a much more prolonged and vigorous persecution, yet discovered that the statement "*Sanguis martyrum semen ecclesiæ*" was full of truth.

CHAPTER XVI

CHRISTIANITY IN THE EMPIRE AND IN BRITAIN

THIS is not the occasion for a description of the rise and propagation of Christianity. At first it came to Rome no doubt as a more or less servile and perhaps military religion. But it spread until it reached the last places where one would expect to find it. "All the saints salute you: especially they that are of Cæsar's household," says St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians. When it had entered the ranks of the better-to-do, its progress was no doubt greatly assisted by the ancient custom of the family worship, which gave an opportunity for any form of religion to be practised privately. And so we read again, "Aquila and Priscilla salute you much in the Lord with the church that is in their house." The significance of this fact in connexion with Britain will shortly appear. The Collegia, so numerous and so varied, also helped. They were for all sorts of purposes, even of a public character, for there were *Collegia cantonarrii* for extinguishing fires—just like the amateur fire-brigades in some of our smaller towns.

There were hosts of Collegia of the character of burial clubs. They could have a perfectly non-significant title, and they might hold their meetings in any house. "*Collegium quod est in domo Sergiæ Paullinæ*"—it might be the church that is in the house of Aquila. It is true that Julius Cæsar abolished many Collegia and that Augustus dissolved all "*præter antiqua et legitima*," decreeing that all must possess a licence, but it appears to be certain that many Collegia never were licensed. Christianity early

became an undoubted fact in the empire, and instead of being accepted as other religions coming from the East had been, it was made illicit. Why? For one thing it was rumoured to be a secret society with hideous rites, though one would have thought that with the examples of the religion of Astarte and others of like character before their eyes, this would not have been a thing to trouble the Roman mind.

What it really did was to cut straight across the imperial policy of an Empire-wide State Religion, the kind of idea which was involved in the Augustan system of national altars. So long as the citizen would offer the most perfunctory respect to the altar of the emperor he might entertain such other religious ideas as pleased him. But this was exactly what the Christian refused to do, preferring to go "*ad leones*," or to one or other of a variety of extremely unpleasant deaths. In A.D. 270–275, Aurelian, as Cumont says, "had essayed to establish an official religion broad enough to embrace all the cults of his dominions and which would have served, as it had amongst the Persians, both as the justification and the prop of imperial absolutism." And, he proceeds, "Aurelian's hopes were blasted by the recalcitrance of the Christians." Christianity in fact was an extra-imperial religion, as Arnold points out. "The Christians," he says, "looked to a non-Roman unity; they decided on a common action independent of Rome; they looked on themselves as Christians first and Roman subjects afterwards; and when required to accept this secondary allegiance they ceased to feel themselves Roman subjects at all." And he adds, "When this was the case, it seems idle to look about for reasons why Rome should proscribe the Christians. If it was to be true to itself it must compel obedience; and to do this meant death to all firm Christians." And that death was the penalty we learn from Pliny's letters, where it is stated that the mere profession of Christianity, if persisted in, was unhesitatingly accepted as a capital offence. An excellent illustration of this fact

is to be found in the extant judgment of Vegellius Saturninus, Pro-Consul of Africa, on six persons living at Scillium in Africa in 180: "Whereas Speratus, Nartallus, Cittinus, Donata, Vestia, Secunda have affirmed that they live after the fashion of the Christians, and when offered a remand to return to the manner of life of the Romans, persisted in their contumacy, we sentence them to perish by the sword." The antithesis between the "fashion of the Christians" and "the life of the Romans" is complete. Hence it is quite likely, as has been asserted, that the persecution of Diocletian, which Ramsay thinks was alluded to in the Apocalypse, was far less due to any special hatred of Christianity than to a feeling that the time had come when a general tightening up of the laws was demanded, and that the law concerned with sacrificing to the divinity of the emperor must be maintained just as much as any other.

Let us set down as a definite and central date the year A.D. 312, that of the battle of the Milvian Bridge, fought by Constantine with British legionaries amongst his troops, after which victory Christianity became the state religion of the empire. And having done this, we may now turn to a consideration of Christianity as it affected early Britain.

Here, again, we have one very definite and important date—A.D. 314—two years only after the time given a few lines above as that of the establishment of Christianity. Yet at that date it is obvious that there was in Britain a fully organized Christian Church, for at the Synod of Arles, held in that year for the purpose of putting an end to the Donatist heresy, there were present three British Bishops, a sacerdos or priest, and a deacon. The bishops were Eborius of Eburacum, that is to say, of the Province of Maxima Cæsariensis, if we are to accept a possible allocation of the provinces; Restitutus of Londinium, that is, of the Province of Britannia Secunda, under the same reservation, neither of which ascriptions give any difficulty;

and Adelphius of Colonia Londoniensum, which is obviously an error. Probably he was the Bishop of Castra Legionum, i.e. Caerleon-on-Usk, and thus represented Britannia Prima. That would leave one of the then four provinces unaccounted for, and it is possible that the sacerdos and diaconus may have represented a see for the time being vacant. Three bishops were also present at the Council of Ariminium, A.D. 360, and there are also said to have been bishops from Britain at the Council of Nicæa, where the Nicene Creed was drawn up. There was then, prior to A.D. 314, an organized Church, and it was in full communion with the Church of Christ elsewhere—these things follow from the statements just made. In fact, St. Jerome, writing in A.D. 342, says, " Neither is the Church of the City of Rome to be held one and that of the whole world another. Both Gaul and Britain and Africa and Persia and the East and India, and all the barbarian nations adore one Christ, observe one rule of faith."

The Diocletian persecution was in A.D. 303, and, according to Gildas—but his figures must be enormously exaggerated—St. Alban and 17,000 other martyrs perished in it. Haddan thought that the number of Christians in Roman Britain was but small, but all the facts now known to us seem to be opposed to that view.

How did Christianity get to Britain ? We may first of all mention some of the legends, picturesque but unsustainable.

St. Peter himself, the Prince of the Apostles, is said to have been in Britain at the time of the Boudicca rising, and to have been in great danger. St. Paul, his great colleague, is even more definitely stated to have preached the gospel in our country. Conybeare hesitates and says that there is " nothing essentially improbable " in these two legends, and Ramsay thinks the statements in connexion with them are " too uncertain to be used as evidence." It is quite possible, even probable, that the Apostle of the Gentiles may have sent a missionary to Britain, as he did

into Gaul, if Tischendorf is right in accepting the reading of a verse in 2 Timothy (*Gallia* for *Galatia*), as found in the "Codex Siniaticus." It is said that St. Simon Zelotes first preached the gospel in Britain, and of course there is the picturesque legend of St. Joseph of Arimathea and his twelve companions, who are said to have entered the Bristol Channel, made their way over the shallow waters then covering what is now Sedgemoor, past the lake village at Meare to the foot of the low hill on which stands the Tor where Abbot Whiting was hanged for refusing to surrender his trust, and there established the monastery of which Whiting was the last acting abbot. The early stories speak of *a* Joseph with twelve companions—a usual number for obvious reasons—and such a tale may well be true. Later generations added "of Arimathea," and of course it is not impossible, though there is not a tittle of evidence for it, that it may have been that personage.

Turning aside from these legends there is one obvious solution staring us in the face. With the military came in the worship of the *Deæ Matres* and that of Mithras, and why is it hard to believe that Christianity was brought into our country by Christian legionaries? They must have had priests. No doubt: but so apparently must the followers of Mithras.

Christianity extended itself all over the country, as we may judge by what history has to tell us of a later day. From the time of the departure of the legions until the coming of St. Augustine in 596 we know little of what was going on in Britain. There was the visit of St. Germanus already alluded to, and there is the "*De Excidio Britannorum*" of Gildas, but his "*Liber Querulus*," though all that we have, is obviously less History than Rhetoric. But when St. Augustine came he found, behind the pagan screen which had intercepted for a century and a half its communications with the outer world, a Christian Church which hated him, because they took him to be the friend of their mortal enemies, but which covered the rest of the

island and only differed from Augustine and the Pope, whom he represented, by the way in which they shaved their heads—which seems an unimportant matter—and the date

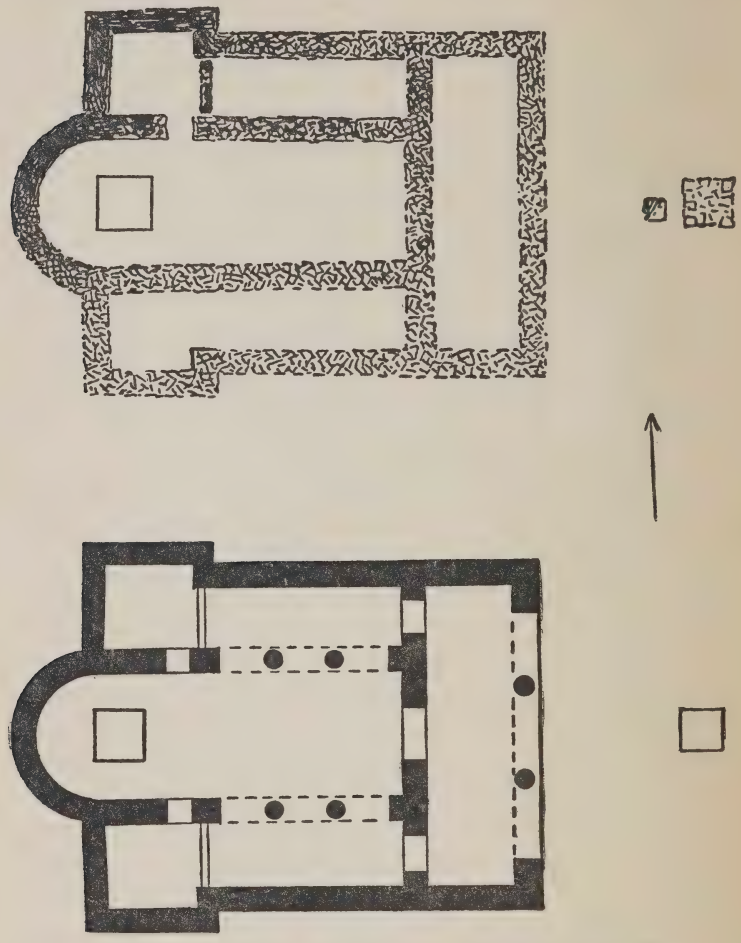

FIG. 65.—PLAN OF CHURCH, SILCHESTER, AND CONJECTURAL RESTORATION (15 ft. to 1 in.)

at which they kept Easter, even to this day a calculation far too complicated for most people. Everything seems to point to the fact that there were a very large number of Christians in Roman Britain ; why then is it that we find

so few things which can be connected with them ? For that such is the case cannot be denied. There are the remains of a Christian Church at *Calleva*, and a second of similar type has recently been found at *Venta Silurum*. It is assumed that these were Christian, though there is no specific symbol in either of them to serve as an identification. They are said to resemble six churches in Timgad known to be Christian, and the archæological opinion of to-day seems unanimous on the point, though it must be confessed one would like some really convincing evidence for the assertion. Of course there may be scores of others under the cities which, as we have seen, have grown up over the remains of the Roman towns. Perhaps a church will yet be found at *Viroconion* during the excavations. Theodosius made an order that the pagan temples were to be purified and then used as Christian churches, and there are some facts which tend to prove the assertion that a certain number of the older churches of Britain are actually built over the sites of pagan temples. For example, a Roman altar of the second century was found on the site of St. Swithin's Church at Lincoln. A pavement was found under the south transept of Southwell Minster, and another under the Norman foundations of the earlier church which preceeded St. Mary Major at Exeter. St. Martin's, Leicester, is on the site of some pillared Roman building which may have been a temple. Excavations at St. Helen's, Bishopgate, seem to have revealed Roman work beneath Saxon foundations. In respect to the pavements, let us bear in mind the church which was in the house of Aquila, for we may feel fairly confident that many of the Christian places of worship were in Roman villas, such, for example, as th t at Chedworth, where the Chi-Rho symbol has been found. After the departure of the owners it may have been that a church rose over the site of what had merely been a sort of domestic chapel, and in that case the pavements would be comprehensible. There is a fine pavement at Woodchester already mentioned, and that, if memory serves me,

is either in or quite near to the present churchyard. The materials of Roman buildings have been found worked up into the older churches, as at St. Albans, Wroxeter, and numerous churches in Shropshire, and, it has been said, in somewhere over thirty-five churches in Essex. The labarum or Chi-Rho monogram alluded to above, and of course probably post-Constantinian, though it is arguable that the monogram may have been used earlier, is found, besides at Chedworth, on a mosaic in the Roman villa at Frampton in Dorset, and on a few bowls, seals, and rings. The labarum proper has been found on a pig of lead dredged up in the Thames, and this of course is post-Constantinian or belonging to his reign. Alpha and Omega have been found on a leaden seal at *Calleva*, and certain cakes of pewter have been dredged up at Battersea, one with "SPES IN DEO," said to be of the fourth century, and others with Christian symbols, but it has to be admitted that some of these objects are perhaps of a doubtful character.

Such are the facts as so far disclosed by excavations and casual finds, and we are left to surmise for an explanation. That few symbols should have been used up to the time of Constantine is quite natural having regard to the proximity to his time of the Diocletian persecution.

We have seen that there must have been a considerable and a fully organized Church in Britain, yet it is quite easy to understand why it should not make itself dangerously obvious. But after the Milvian Bridge, what then? That there was in cases a conversion of pagan temples to Christian purposes seems to be made quite clear by the inscriptions already given, where conservative pagans, during one or other of the temporary pagan revivals, such as that under Julian the Apostate, had, as they put it, restored to the worship of the gods a place defiled by profane hands, i.e. we may suppose by Christian worship.

But Christianity on the whole had a clear course from this time in Britain until the later invasions of the pagans of the north. As to the absence of the remains of churches, we

have seen that there is a plausible explanation, but it is certainly difficult to understand the almost complete absence of tombstones and the paucity of other articles of obviously Christian tendency, such as we should have expected to have found in much greater numbers.

CHAPTER XVII

ROMAN ADMINISTRATION IN BRITAIN

"*PARCERE subjectis et debellare superbos*"—the attitude of the Roman towards a conquered people cannot be better summed up than in those words of Virgil. "Because," says Reid, in his "Municipalities of the Roman Empire," "the Romans were in some ways the greatest organizers the world has known, it was often tacitly assumed that, in dealing with conquered peoples, they were animated from the first by a passion for immediate domination and for grinding uniformity . . . they were really political opportunists to a degree unsurpassed in history. As rulers their distinctive mark was not rigidity but elasticity, pliability, adaptability; and herein lay the chief secret of their success. When a conquest had been achieved, it was their custom to interfere with local conditions only as far as immediate necessity required. Their general desire in government was to find and to follow the line of least resistance. Modern states might learn from them some useful lessons. They carried toleration of local diversities to an extreme. They rarely interfered with any cult, however barbarous. They never essayed, like some foolish governments of after-times, and indeed of our day, to stamp out a native language. The culture which they offered to the conquered races of the West was never pressed on them by violence." And further on he continues: "In handling their external empire, the Romans trusted to the effect of time rather than of force, and they had their reward. Rome exercised a natural unforced attraction over the peoples who fell beneath her sway. Once

conquered, they soon became loyal to the great peacemaking power, and ready, for the most part in the West at least, to adopt her institutions and her culture."

As examples of the extent to which this differentiation of treatment was carried, let us remember that until the end of the third century there was no universal system of taxation, and that even after Caracalla by his edict had converted every provincial into a Roman citizen, local peculiarities in legislation were permitted.

The ideas of the Romans as regarded colonization may be summed up under three heads. First, interfere as little as possible with existing conditions. Reid has been quoted, and a remark of Arnold's may be added: "It was the general policy of the Romans not to make any more changes in a conquered territory than were necessary for reducing it to complete subjection." Secondly, make the people happy and comfortable. Ramsay states that the Imperial Government did recognize the duty of maintaining a standard of comfort amongst the poorer classes more than any before or since. Thirdly, keep them happy, but keep them ignorant. Implied by the fact that they provided no education; indeed, as Ramsay again points out, it was later on the Church which first proclaimed that there was a duty to educate as well as to amuse and feed the poorer classes. No doubt Agricola as part of his policy did his best to induce the sons of the Keltic chiefs to learn Latin, but then, as Tacitus tells us, that was not for the purpose of civilizing them so much as of binding them closer in Imperial fetters.

The obvious explanation of this policy is that the empire looked upon its provincials merely from the point of view of Rome and how far they could promote its welfare. There can be only one end to a policy of this kind if followed out long enough; yet perhaps the time might have arisen, had not other circumstances intervened and put an end to any such prospect, when the empire might have recognized that its true policy, again to quote from Ramsay, was to abandon this narrow and jealous spirit, and train the provincials to

higher conceptions of political duty than mere obedience to the laws and the magistrates. Only in this way could it have carried out its mission of creating a great unified state, characterized by universal citizenship and patriotism—a mission which he goes on to point out was in later years accomplished by the Church.

In later days Britain was divided into four provinces, but it began as one, and as one we may consider it during the rest of this chapter. But some mention must be made of the division and the method of government before passing to other matters. During the major portion of the occupation the government was very naturally military, and the *Legatus* or Commander-in-Chief, whose term of office was usually three years and who was appointed by the emperor, was the controlling authority. At the end of the third century this came to an end and the civil and military functions were placed in different hands.

There were three dioceses under the Prefect of the Gauls, and Britain was one of them, under the Vicar of Britain, a functionary entitled *Vir Spectabilis*, i.e. His Excellency. Under him were five Prefects each presiding over a province These were Britannia Prima, which we can feel sure was the western district around *Corinium*; Britannia Secunda, Maxima Cæsariensis, Flavia Cæsariensis, and later on Valentia, as to the positions of which we have no knowledge. So much for civil government. Military affairs were under three excellencies. The *Comes Britanniæ* was superior in rank and had a general control of the forces in the province. The *Dux Britanniæ* had his head-quarters at *Eburacum*, and his main duty was to look after the wall and the district between it and the city in which he resided. The *Comes Litoris Saxonici*, as already mentioned, had charge of the coast fronting the North Sea and the Channel, and the names and situations of his forts have already been detailed (Chap. X). It appears that his chief land force was at *Rutupiæ*, and though, for a time, *Eburacum* was the head-quarters of the sea force, it seems probable that in later days

most of the galleys at any rate had been removed to Boulogne, where, of course, they were in easy touch with Britain.

"A Roman Province," says Goldwin Smith, "was far above a satrapy, though far below a nation." Above all things it was absolutely debarred from making treaties of any kind with any other province. Nor, of course, could it go to war with a fellow-province. The Lex Julia, which prohibited the carrying of arms by any but the military—an enlightened measure which governments of to-day might well revive—prevented any such adventure, for the local militias were very shadowy concerns. Let the province attend to its own work and pay its taxes and we will police and protect it: such may be said to have been the Roman idea. Under a regime of this kind it is no wonder that a country like Britain should lose to a large extent the power of protecting itself. Recruiting for the army of course went on there, as in other provinces, but the men recruited in Britain never served in that country but were sent elsewhere, and our island, as we have seen, was largely soldiered by legionaries from the Rhineland. Sir Samuel Dill says that under the empire, even under Tiberius and Nero and other imperial ruffians, the provinces were well administered and enjoyed a freedom from oppression which was not theirs under the republic. Yet there were incidents like those which led to the uprising under Boudicca. No doubt much depended on the local administrators for the time being in any particular district.

There were Provincial Councils, a term which sounds very fine, but to what did they amount? One can see how much and how little by studying the agenda of the meeting of such a body. The first and all-important duty was the offering of sacrifice at the altar of the emperor and of Rome, and as far as Rome was concerned that was the one thing of importance; and the magnates from the different districts who composed the Council might just as well have gone home again when this was done, so far again as Rome was interested in their doings. But there were a

few more items on the agenda of interest to the councillors if not to the Imperial City. First of all certain vows which had been made in the previous year were fulfilled, and new vows for the next were entered into. Then, and no doubt to the inhabitants of the district this was the real business of the day, there was a procession to the amphitheatre, where athletic, gladiatorial, and even rhetorical contests took place. With this ended what may be called public business. Then the magnates proceeded to their internal duties, the first of which was the election of the priest for the next year. No doubt this was a matter respecting which there were many jealousies, for the priest for the year was the star character of the Council, and the position we may feel sure, in earlier years at any rate, was one to be coveted, and we may also feel sure to be paid for by lavish contributions to the games and other matters of interest to the province. Of course the priest for the year would be the sort of man who might be made a *Sevir Augustalis*, just as the generous and influential native in India may become a C.I.E. The priest elected, the assembly settled itself to the consideration of the provincial budget. Here at last, the reader may imagine, we are coming to the heart of the business, for after all what greater power has parliament than that of the purse? The purse, however, so far as they were concerned, did not contain any penny of the taxes, but was replenished by the subscriptions of the wealthy and spent on the cult, on the games, on public statues, and on legations to Rome or elsewhere. Not that the purse always had to bear these burdens, for there were distinguished citizens then—perhaps even since—who were quite willing, publicly or privately, to pay for their own statues if the Council was willing to decree the erection; and there were wealthy provincials anxious to visit Rome as provincial officials, and quite willing to do it on the Pickwickian principle of paying their own expenses if they could be adorned with a delegation from the Council. The last item in fact was the voting of statues and of

thanks to the governor of the province. No doubt these bodies did not always content themselves with such jejune operations. At times they really did discuss public affairs of importance to themselves, and they did also from time to time send serious delegations to the emperor to discuss these matters with him. No doubt there was here the germ of local government in a true sense, and Arnold is right when he says: "If the provincial councils had been made into real parliaments and not restricted to their so-called religious duties, and above all if there had been a regular and organized representation of the provinces in the central government, Rome and her provinces might have defended themselves together for a thousand years instead of two hundred."

Citizenship of the city of Rome was by no means confined to persons born in or living in that city. It extended to many other places, and wherever the possessor of the citizenship was he carried with him the tremendous privileges which its possession implied. Look at the familiar story of St. Paul as told in the Acts of the Apostles; how alarmed the tribune was when he found that he had bound a Roman citizen. Further, he went to his prisoner and said, "Tell me. Art thou a Roman? But he said: Yea. And the tribune answered: I obtained the being free of this city by a great sum. And Paul said: But I was born so." Now St. Paul was born so in Tarsus—"no mean city," as he tells us, but far away from Rome, which at that time we may reasonably suppose that the Apostle had never seen, though he was afterwards to suffer martyrdom there. Roman citizenship then could be acquired by birth or by purchase, like a baronetcy in days gone by, to say no more. But this was a matter of growth. In the earliest days of course it was only the natives of the city who enjoyed the title; then the inhabitants of quite neighbouring colonies. In 90 B.C. it was extended to all Italians, and in A.D. 50 Claudius allowed Messalina to make it saleable—"at a great price." It could be earned by twenty-five

years' service in the army. Caracalla gets the credit of extending citizenship to the entire empire in A.D. 211 or 212, though it is possible that he was then only insisting on liabilities incurred by an earlier extension under Marcus Aurelius in A.D. 160. In any case, Britain had the privilege of the citizenship for many years before the withdrawal of the legions. Even if he had never crossed the Channel the native Kelt could exclaim and with truth "*Civis Romanus sum*," and claim all the privileges of his position—privileges naturally much shrunken by their very extension since the time that St. Paul made the same proud boast.[1]

The Roman Empire, as already stated, was founded as a city, and the imperial ideal was that of cities, in fact the ideal map of the Roman Empire would have been one of cities and their *territoria* and the imperial demesne. There were parts of Britain where the Roman writ did not run, but the other parts were divided up in the manner just indicated.

There was the imperial demesne, which covered everything outside the towns and their *territoria*; for example, all the lead districts, and these were of great importance. The mines of the Mendips were early developed and always the most famous, and were protected by a fortress near Charterhouse-on-Mendip, which had what appears to have been its own small amphitheatre for the amusement of the troops in that lonely station. There were mines also at Matlock in Derbyshire, at Shelve in Shropshire, at Halkyn in Flint, and in the south-western Yorkshire moors. As some example of the great amount of lead which must have been exported there have actually been discovered as many as fifty pigs, which were dropped and never missed, or left behind, or at any rate still remain to show us what the Roman pigs were like, and many of them are impressed with the name of the reigning emperors. Of these pigs

[1] With regard to Soldiers, Arnold says in his "Studies of Roman Imperialism" that on entering a legion, a man became *ipso facto* a Roman citizen whatever his previous status may have been, but he adds that legionaries were usually recruited from towns already Roman—an auxiliary only became a Roman citizen *after* serving his time.

twenty-two have been found in Flintshire, five in Shropshire, seven on the Mendips, and eleven in Derbyshire. Mendip pigs exist bearing names of Claudius (A.D. 49) and of Vespasian (A.D. 70), so early were the Charterhouse mines worked by the Romans. Another pig of A.D. 60 was found on the banks of the Test, lost on its way from Charterhouse to the sea.

The *Municipium* was the highest type of Roman city, according to most authorities. There was but one example of this kind of city in Britain, namely, *Verulamium*, near what is now St. Albans, and that place very early attained the dignity. When the Romans set up or took over a city, they either accepted with or without modifications the constitution which it possessed, or gave it a constitution. By constant contact with Gaul it is probable that *Verulamium* was quite highly Romanized before the Romans took possession of it, and was therefore in a position to receive the highest municipal privileges almost from the beginning. It must be remembered that, after the extension of the franchise by Caracalla, all British towns in effect became *Municipia*.

The *Colonia* was not a military city (the consideration of legionary fortresses does not come within the purport of this chapter), but yet was a settlement of discharged soldiers—veterans in fact. The difference in name from the previous category indicates far more a difference of origin than anything else, for the method of government of both was much the same. Both had their *territoria*, and in fact both of them were something like, say, Hamburg or Bremen in the Germanic confederation. *Camulodunum*, or Colchester, was the first *Colonia* to be constituted, and this was done when veterans were placed in the city. The others were *Lindum*, or Lincoln, in whose modern name the ancient dignity is traceable, *Eburacum*, and *Glevum*.

How large were the *territoria* attached to these cities? It is very hard to say. It seems quite possible that the *territoria* of the cities around Rome itself are to-day indicated by the extent of the dioceses of what are known as the suburbican sees. But any such idea with regard to

England is out of the question. Take the huge ancient diocese of Lincoln for example, which included Dorchester (Oxon) and could never have coincided with the *territorium* of the city in question, not to speak of the fact that the see was only removed to Lincoln by Remigius in 1072 after the Council of Windsor. And the huge see of Lichfield, which included Chester, was really the measure of the Mercian kingdom.

Haverfield thinks that the evidence of milestones shows that the *territorium* of *Eburacum* stretched some twenty miles south to Castleford, and that of *Lindum* fourteen miles also south to Littleborough. It seems as if the *territorium* of a city was about equal to an average county of to-day, and it must be remembered that that *territorium* was in jurisdiction one with the town to which it belonged.

In Britain and in North Gaul there was a cantonal system extending to districts which were neither territorial nor imperial demesne. The canton consisted of the land of a local tribe which was the unit, and the local magistrates, classified as such, were the former chiefs under a new name. It was an exceedingly ingenious way of absorbing a tribe with its native rulers, methods, and customs. It is a system which has been imitated within the British Empire, for in Pondoland, and also in other parts of Cape Colony, the hereditary chief of the tribe is by the colonial law a magistrate and functions as such.

Of course under the Roman system the canton had a cantonal town, the remainder of the area being its *territorium*. There is one example in Britain as to which no doubt can be entertained, for the inscription quoted (see Chap. X) makes it clear that Caerwent, i.e. *Venta Silurum*, occupied that position. The system was extremely prevalent in North Gaul, and a series of place-names such as *Venta Belgarum* or *Silurum* or *Icenorum*, *Isurium Brigantium*, *Isca Dumnoniorum*, and others seem to show that besides Caerwent there were a number of places of this cantonal character. But so far there are no inscriptions to make the matter certain. An attempt has recently been made

to assert a cantonal position for London, but the arguments used cannot be said to be conclusive.

Lastly, in our classification of the various units of territory we must return to the villa system of demesne farms, with *coloni* or serfs alluded to in Britain in the Theodosian code. There is no definite evidence that any other form of tenure, the Keltic especially, flourished in any part of Britain under the Roman sway, though we may suppose that such was the case in the imperfectly subdued portions, such as Cornwall and much of Wales. Seebohm thought the villa system developed into the later manor, but the view is not generally held.

We may sum up this part of the subject by a quotation from Haverfield as to the extent of the Romanization of the island. The empire, he tells us, did its work in Britain as it did in Western Europe generally, i.e. it introduced the Roman speech, a town life, a definite form of culture. This was not, and could not, be uniform throughout the whole country nor throughout all sections of the people.

South of Watling Street, excepting Cornwall and Wales, the reconstruction of the people was pretty generally complete and successful, even substantially complete in towns and amongst the upper classes in the country. Amongst the peasantry it was less so, for while the crust was Roman the crumb was definitely Keltic. To this persistent crumb far too little attention has been turned in the past by ethnologists and historians. The hordes of pagans from across the North Sea who poured into Britain after the departure of the legions were successful in interposing a screen of pagandom between the insular and the continental civilizations for many years, but they neither expelled nor in most parts of the country submerged the "Keltic crumb," which persisted and, though in different proportions in different parts of the country, formed the basis of the race which nowadays is commonly called "Anglo-Saxon"—a term never likely to be abandoned, but very misleading in its ethnological bearings.

CHAPTER XVIII

ROME AND BRITAIN—BRITAIN AND INDIA

IT is impossible to read the story of the Roman occupation of Britain and to have even a superficial idea of the story of British government in India without having one's thoughts directed to the similarities and dissimilarities between the two. The consideration of this topic has formed the subject of more than one book and article, and some sketch of the points suggesting themselves may fitly form the conclusion to this account of the earlier incident.

Rome gained Britain and Britain gained India by the sword, and both of them excused themselves for their doings in a very similar way. Listen to Cicero: "Let Asia" (no doubt he would have said the same about Britain or any other possession) "consider that no calamity of foreign war or intestine discord would have been wanting to her if she were not protected by this Empire." It might be a passage from any address by any Governor-General of India. No doubt it is true in both cases: Britain was far, far better off under orderly Roman government than under the irregular sway of the chiefs of the Keltic tribes who, be it remembered, had imposed themselves on the earlier occupants of the island. And few doubt what would happen in India if the British hand were taken off it. The ethical question as to whether one nation may subdue another for the good of the subdued is not one which can be entered into here. It is understood that the ex-Kaiser and his following were of opinion that Europe would be the better for firm German treatment; indeed,

that such was the necessary preliminary to the Millennium. But the opinion is open to doubt.

Britain first went into India as a trader. "John Company" received a charter permitting it to have armed forces and protect itself, and, when John Company found the job too big for it, Britain took it up and assumed the rule of this vast province, even giving still later the title of Emperor of India to the ruler of the British Islands.

Rome to some extent no doubt was preceded by merchants, who visited the more important cities of the southern portion and to a very considerable degree Romanized them before the conquest was attempted. But this was "peaceful penetration" and does not seem to have been such a preparation for hostilities as the Teutonic brand in England was in the years prior to 1914. At any rate, Cæsar's Intelligence Department was sadly ignorant of British affairs, and much the same may be said about that of Claudius. It was not primarily trade which took Rome to Britain but the search for a scientific frontier, which in the end, by the reluctance and folly of her rulers, she never attained. It was primarily trade which took Britain to India, but once there she found herself committed to the quest of a scientific frontier, and fortunately attained it in the Himalayas, which deprive her of any temptation of pushing further North. Thus she has only to guard, outside the country, against dangers from the sea—to wit the "Emden"—and from the passes into Scinde and the Punjab.

British India is about 750,000,000 square miles smaller than the Roman Empire, but then it is only a part of that ring of nations which makes up the British Empire; and it must not be forgotten that, whilst Britain rules many millions of subjects in India alone, any estimate of the population of the Roman Empire must make it infinitely smaller than that. In the census of A.D. 13 the number of Roman citizens was 4,937,000, but that does not help

us much in arriving at the figure of the gross population of the empire.

Britain took a much shorter time over her task than Rome did, at least over the consolidation of the empire. The first Punic war began in 264 B.C. and the empire—though a torso—was we may say completed in about A.D. 85. The British part, however, took not more than forty years, if we are to select the date just given as the end. Britain took from 1757 to finish in Mandalay in 1885. In making the Roman Empire its soldiers commenced with the toughest adversaries in the Macedonians and Carthaginians, whilst Britain was fortunate enough to have Bengalis—a feeble folk—to begin with and only later to encounter foemen like the Sikhs. Further, Britain was undoubtedly *felix opportunitate sua*, for she arrived on the scene just as the Empire of Akbar was breaking up. Both had very similar problems to tackle, and both having a colonizing genius it is perhaps not wonderful that in a number of cases both should have solved the problems in the same way—it being obvious that there was more than one way of solving each. There was something of a parallel to both, as Sir C. Lucas points out in the French colonization of Canada, which was in its essence largely military and was despotically arranged, organized, and held together.

Both governments were essentially military—the country gained by the sword was held by the sword. There is this difference, however, Rome in an occupied country placed practically all her forces along the frontier ; British cantonments are dotted all over India, though doubtless there is a North-West Frontier, reminiscent of " The Wall " and its history. England has many a tombstone sacred to the memory of some dead Roman soldier, and the Indian graveyards must chiefly be filled by soldiers, their wives, and their children.

Rome set to work to cover Britain with roads very largely strategic in their design. England's railways in India are very largely constructed in accordance with

military requirements. Moreover, wherever railways run in India they, as well as the stations along them, are British territory, even in the midst of native states, and, as Lee Warner points out, every railway station is in effect a court of justice at least *in posse*. It reminds one of the short-lived idea of the Quatuor Chimini, though that was long after Roman days in Britain.

The mention of these native states leads to a very important line of thought, but before entering upon it one must keep in mind one of the most important distinctions between the two races. Rome was a despotism at its centre; Britain is, or is supposed to be, a democracy.

If the inhabitants of Italy, let us say, not to speak of Rome, thought about the provinces at all, they probably thought that all that was being done there was being done for the best interests of those in and near the city, and for other interests they carred not a jot; nor would it in the least have mattered how much they cared. A democracy is apt to get restive as to outlying provinces, and the less it knows about them perhaps the more restive it can be made for party purposes. Witness the case of the Philippines. Witness more than one case in the recent history of the British Empire. The matter is sufficiently obvious and need not be further laboured. Hence many and varied difficulties dog the path of the British administrator which did not trouble his Roman predecessor, who, moreover, was not constantly at the end of a telegraph wire.

In the last chapter it was shown what limitations the provinces of Rome suffered under. Rome's "client princes" and subordinate states, for she had such, also had limitations, and limitations not unlike those of the provinces. They had certain obligations towards Rome, but on the other hand Rome was bound to defend them against the rest of the world.[1] Such states could not enter into treaties with one another, nor of course wage war

[1] The Question will be found to be fully dealt with in Sands' work on "The Client Princes of the Roman Empire."

upon one another. Lee Warner tells us that none of the native states of the interior of India enjoy the full attributes of complete external and internal sovereignty, since to none is left either the power of declaring war or peace or the right of negotiating agreements with other states, and that all interstatal differences of opinion must be settled by the British Government.

The writer thus quoted has a passage of the greatest interest in connexion with this matter which, in spite of its length, must not be omitted from this chapter. The provincial administration of Rome, he says, rich in lessons for the Indian official, lies beyond the scope of the present inquiry; but it may be hoped that history will not repeat itself in the breakdown which it records of Roman attempts to maintain the independence, or even the treaty rights, of its allies.

The main help which Roman history can afford to the political agent is the lesson of warning, and not of example, taught by failure. Under the republic there was much in the policy of the commonwealth towards the allied states, which sounds familiar to Indian ears. When Clive deliberately recognizes the independence of Oude, in order that it may be a buffer state between the Company's territories in Bengal and the Maratha-swept provinces of the tottering Mughal Empire beyond them, he repeated the action of Flaminius, who withdrew his troops from Corinth and left Greece free as a check on Macedon, and as a breakwater against invasion from the East. The same policy was continued when, after the fall of Perseus, Macedonia was preserved as a fetter on Thrace. But each barrier gave way in turn, and when Thrace itself was annexed its ruling family was pensioned by Tiberius, as the Sind Amirs were by Napier after 1842. The rewards of territory given to Rome's allies, such as Rhodes, Pergamus, and the client state of Numidia, recall the divisions of the spoil between the Company and the parties to the treaty of offensive and defensive alliance against Tipu Sahib in 1790; while the

terms imposed on Carthage in 202 B.C., and those on Philip of Macedon soon afterwards, which deprived the states of the right of waging wars or making alliances without the consent of Rome, remind one of the treaties negotiated by Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings. The phrase *civitas fœderata* applied to Gades is the exact equivalent of the term "Treaty-Jagirs" which to-day distinguishes the southern Maratha country, the Satara, and the Nagpore Jagirdars, honoured with the receipt of Sanads (i.e. diplomas) of adoption, from other proprietors of estates in foreign territory to whom the Sanads were not given.

Again, when a state like Mysore adopts the provisions of British law as applicable to its own conditions, it may be said in Latin terms *in eam legem fundus fieri*. But although in two directions, namely, their arrangements for imperial defence and for subordinate isolation, the Romans anticipated the Company in several measures, which in British India have not led to annexation, their love of fixed law and system proved fatal to the maintenance of native rule. The taxation and disarmament of Macedonia in 167 B.C. were compatible with its retention of sovereignty, but when once a Constitution was introduced, and when (as the phrase went, *leges datæ*) the details of the administration of justice and the relations of the communities included in the state were defined by law, the separate existence of the allied state ceased, and the Roman province took its place. The process by which this change was effected was no doubt gradual, but the loss of independence became only a question of time when Roman colonies with their legal rights confirmed by a *lex*, a *plebiscitum*, or a *senatus consultum*, were planted in foreign territory, and to urban communities were conceded municipal rights. The intrusion of the Latin tongue, to which even the coinage of the Mauritanian kings bore testimony, drove one wedge into the indigenous system, but the Roman prefects and magistrates were the most potent instruments of annexation. The statesmen of the time of Mountstewart Elphinstone

were sound scholars, and in their constant declamations against the intrusion of British law into the Native States they only applied a lesson taught them by their Roman history. They forgot, however, in carrying their doctrine to the extreme limits of intervention, that India would soon come under the eye of a public opinion which would not tolerate oppression and corruption.

Let us return from this highly instructive quotation to some further comparisons between the earlier and the later occupations.

Both governments flattered their subject races or encouraged them by distinctions. Britain has two Indian Orders of Knighthood, no doubt justly coveted. Rome had her *Seviri Augustales* and gave other distinctions. There is a tablet in Chichester to one Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnos, obviously, from his name, a Romanized Kelt, who is described as Imperial Legate, an honorary title, as one might say to-day Extra Aide-de-Camp to the King.

Both peoples recruited from the inhabitants of the lands they were administering, but Rome for a long period only for service outside their own country; Britain almost exclusively for service within their own country.

Neither race has been afflicted with what someone has called the curse of uniformity, and both have tolerated almost all customs and religions. The Romans extirpated the Druids partly, so it is supposed, on account of the cruelty of their rites, and the British have put an end to *suttee* in India and to various other barbarities in other lands under their rule. Both, as Warde Fowler most acutely pointed out, were afflicted with the Town and Country difficulty. The conservative character of a rural population makes assimilation very difficult, if not, at times, impossible. The Romans stuck to the towns, which they could and did influence. They tacked on to them pieces of the surrounding country and made the towns the masters of these pieces, as described in the last chapter; and having thus divided and so to speak townified the

whole country, they had what was their solution of the difficulty. In a small country like Britain that solution might work well enough, but what about India? There are 30,000,000 in the towns in that country and 235,000,000 in the villages and rural districts. That fact alone, says Fowler, is enough to explain why India has never been Anglicized. The Roman passion for towns and town government was such that they even gave what were nothing more than villages a civic status, and endowed them with a hierarchy of officials. Look at St. Patrick's father, who was a *decurio* or councillor of some probably quite small place.

Let us now turn to some of the differences. There was a time when the pagoda tree was shaken, with excellent results for the shakers, and when even such a man as Clive could be "aghast at his own moderation," but that time we are assured and may believe has long gone by. Taxation is, as we all know, a nuisance, and nobody loves the tax-gatherer, with the possible exception of his wife. Still, less fervid curses are poured out on his head when it is known or believed that he is not securing from his victims more than the no doubt modest and just salary affixed to his office. That is the British system; the Roman was quite different. The Roman wanted a certain sum of money from the provinces; it was not much matter how it was raised, and the simplest plan for the governmental point of view was to accept a lump sum down from some man or body of men and then allow him or them to wring such profit as they could from the unfortunate province which they were farming. That was the system of *Publicani*, and the New Testament shows us clearly enough what general opinion about them was in Palestine and, it may be added, elsewhere. There was even a *Societas Publicanorum*—a kind of Robbery Trust—which did nothing but speculate in such state work in the provinces of the empire. Of course there had to be some limit to their extortions or the worm would turn, as in the days of Boudicca. But

within these limits the pickings were quite good, and profiteers grew fat in Rome as they have done in later days in many other countries. No wonder that the publicans, who were the persons immediately in contact with the flock which was being shorn in these operations, were not popular.

Rome had no difficulty in raising provincials to high office, even the highest, for, of the emperors, Trajan and Hadrian came from Spain and Severus from Africa ; whilst Maximinus was born in Thrace of a Goth by an Alan woman. Theoretically a Maori might be prime minister of a Dominion or even of the Imperial Parliament, but no one has ever seen anything like the Roman precedents. This leads us to what perhaps is the most vital difference. Rome looked forward to a complete or nearly complete fusion of all races. In the time of Honorius, Claudius exclaims, " We who drink of the Rhone and the Orontes are all one nation." And in fact even the dwellers in the most distant cities, like Tarsus for example, were all the same people. There really is a fundamental difference between " a British Subject " and " Civis Romanus," other than the territorial difference. Yet even amongst the Romans the fusion was not, perhaps could not, be perfect. Arnold says, " It is hard, as we see by India, for the conquerors to regard themselves as equal to the conquered ; and though the provincials as a whole were more nearly on a level with the Romans than the Hindoos are with their English rulers, still the Romans felt that it was they who ruled, organized, and civilized, and that they had proved their capacity while their subjects had not. The weakness of those who have conquered and ruled with eminent success, is to be sceptical with regard to the fitness of others to do similar work ; and a Roman governor would probably have been as incredulous if you had spoken to him of a genuine parliament at Lyons or Cordova as an Indian official would be if you suggested a Hindoo parliament at Delhi." It is needless to say that

the lines which I have quoted were written before the war. We are now going to watch the experiment alluded to.

What we can never expect to see—though the Romans might and did perhaps expect to see it in their case, had the empire lasted in unimpaired power—is any kind of racial fusion between British and Indians. There is the climatic difficulty to begin with, for India is not a place where Europeans can make a permanent settlement as the Romans could and did in every part of their empire. Then there is the language difficulty, which must have been much less felt when Greek was a kind of lingua franca from Sicily to the Euphrates. There is the religious difficulty, which does not seem to decrease notably, and associated with it are customs of caste and marriage, which form an unsurmountable barrier. Above all, there is the colour difficulty, and I suppose those who have only discussed it with Anglo-Indians, as is the case with the present writer, can hardly understand how strong the feeling is on that matter—at least as strong as the colour feeling in the United States, though there is far less ethnological difference in the first than there is in the second case. The Romans had no prejudices of that kind, and they eliminated the labour difficulty by the easy method of slavery—not open to us.

There were marked resemblances between the situations confronting the two empires—that must needs have been since they were of a fundamental character. There were and are marked similarities between the ways in which these situations were met, and that heightens the feeling that the student must often find himself impressed by, namely, the likenesses between the English and the Roman peoples in their dealings with subject races, and, indeed, in other respects not a few.

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Arnold	"Roman Provincial Administration."
British Museum	"Guide to Roman Britain."
Bruce, J. C.	"Handbook of Roman Wall."
Bryce	"The Ancient Roman Empire and the British Empire in India."
Codrington	"Roman Roads."
Conington	"Roman Britain."
Cumont	"Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism."
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Dill	"Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius."
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Gomme	"The Making of London."
Haverfield	"The Romanization of Britain."
Holmes, Rice	"Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Cæsar."
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Strong, Mrs. Arthur	"Apotheosis and After Life."
Ward	"The Roman Era in Britain."
Ward	"Romano-British Buildings."
Windle	"Remains of the Prehistoric Age."
Windle	"Chester."

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